The Social Contract

Vol. XIV, No. 3 Spring 2004

Highlights

Guest Editor John Rohe has interviewed former Governor of Colorado Richard D. Lamm and selected some of his most challenging essays.

Lawrence Auster explains 'how the multicultural ideology captured America.'

Linda Bentley and Glynn Custred discuss the 'Aztlan' movement for a separate Hispanic nation in the Western U.S.

The widespread tactic of sending jobs overseas is deplored by Herman Daly, Paul Craig Roberts, and Ian Fletcher.

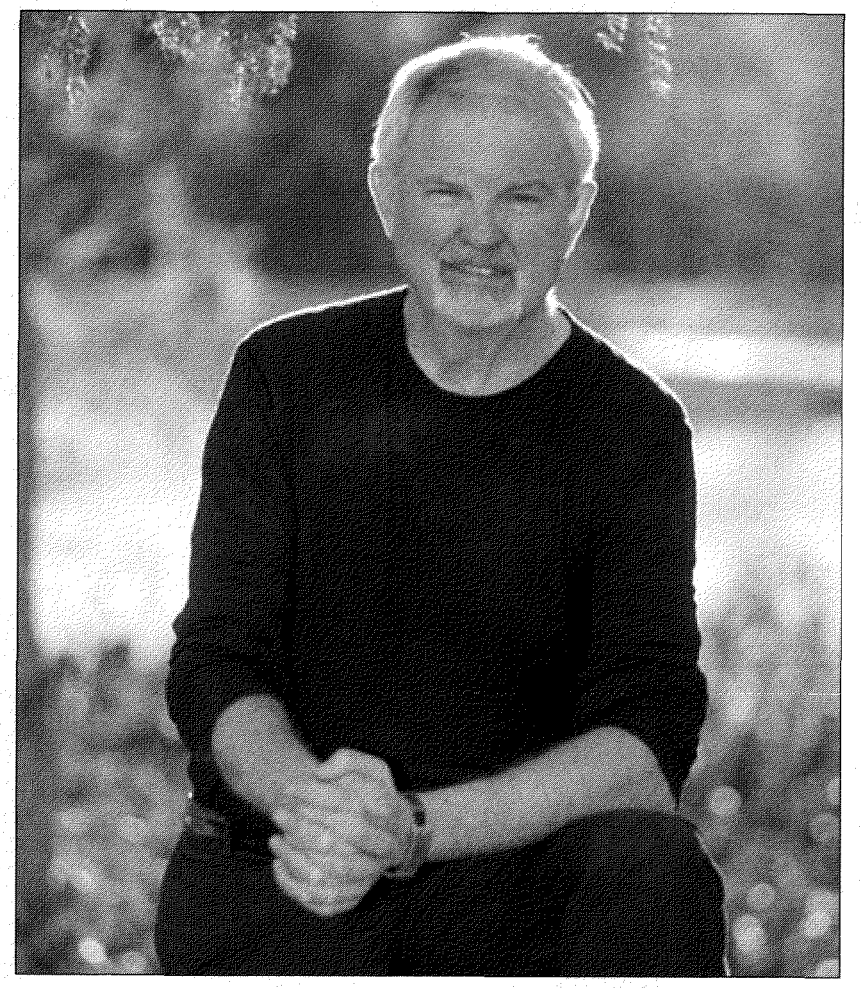
John Meyer shows how Canada needs to come to grips with expansive immigrant numbers.

Otis Graham revisits the position of the noted John Higham on 'nativism.'

Italy's demographics spell a totally different majority population in the near future, writes John Tanton.

Selected books are reviewed by John Attarian and Jerry Keeney.

Richard Lamm: A Life in Public Service



Richard D. Lamm

Diana Hull discusses why the present leadership of the Sierra Club still needs to 'take a hike.' See page 194

U.S. $7.50 • ISSN 1055-145X Visit us at **www.thesocialcontract.com**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

About THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal examines trends, events, and ideas that have an impact on America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted? and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture, and national unity considerations. What shared values are necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at creating and guarding their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles, essays and book reviews that vary greatly in outlook and philosophy. We encourage a wide spectrum of opinion as we publish contributions from many vantage points. The opinions expressed by the writers are not necessarily those of the editors or publisher.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. XIV, No. 3 Spring 2004

Contents

158 **A Note from the Editor**

159 **Letters to the Editor**

161 **Guest Editor's Introduction of Governor Richard D. Lamm**
by John F. Rohe

163 **Brief CV of Governor Lamm**

164 **A Conservationist's Politician An Interview with Gov. Richard Lamm**
by John F. Rohe

Articles by Richard D. Lamm

173 **The Crime of the Century**

175 **What If It Were Your Mother? What Health Care Would You Ask For?**

176 **Death: Right or Duty?**

178 **Good Neighbors, Bad Ancestors**

180 **Immigration: The Ultimate Environmental Issue**

181 **I Have a Plan to Destroy America**

183 **Peace 2010: A Look Backward from the Future**

187 **A Moral Code for a Finite World**
With Herschel Elliott

191 **The Two Magic Wands**

192 **A Second Look at Governor Lamm's Prescient 1985 Book, *Megatraumas***
Book Review by Wayne Lutton

194 **The Sierra Club: Why the Present Leadership Still Needs to Take a Hike**
by Diana Hull

197 **How the Multicultural Ideology Captured America**
by Lawrence Auster

209 **The Lyrics of History**
by Glynn Custred

213 **Paving the Way to Aztlan**
by Linda Bentley

219 **Offshoring in the Context of Globalization**
by Herman E. Daly

220 **Jobs Data Show U.S. Is Outsourcing Its Future**
by Paul Craig Roberts

222 **The Right Way to Go: Twenty Defenses of Offshoring and Why They Are Wrong**
by Ian Fletcher

225 **Immigration to Canada Now That We've Grown**
by John Meyer

227 **John Higham Revisited**
by Otis L. Graham, Jr.

229 **Vatican Capitulates!**
by John H. Tanton

Book Reviews

232 John Attarian reviews *America Extinguished* by Samuel T. Francis.

235 Jerry Keeney reviews *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water*
by Marc Reisner

236 **The Bulletin Board**

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published four times a year by The Social Contract Press, 445 East Mitchell Street, Petoskey, MI 49770.
Phone (231) 347-1171, Fax (231) 347-1185. Send mail correspondence and address corrections to address above,
or e-mail to info@thesocialcontract.com. See our World Wide Web page at www.thesocialcontract.com.
To order subscriptions or books call toll free: 1-800-352-4843. Third class postage paid at Petoskey, Michigan. *Copyright © 2004.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Social Contract

Publisher
John H. Tanton, M.D.
Petoskey, Michigan

EDITOR
Wayne Lutton, Ph.D.
Petoskey, Michigan

MANAGING EDITOR
Robert Kyser
Petoskey, Michigan

CONTRIBUTORS
John Attarian, Ph.D.
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Gerda Bikales
North Bethesda, Maryland

John Cairns, Jr., Ph.D.
Blacksburg, Virginia

Lindsey Grant
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Diana Hull, Ph.D.
Santa Barbara, California

Kevin Lamb
Washington, D.C.

Lee Madland, Ph.D.
Missoula, Montana

Michael Masters
Fredericksburg, Virginia

Denis McCormack
North Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia

Craig Nelsen
Washington, D.C.

John Rohe
Petoskey, Michigan

Edwin Rubenstein, Ph.D.
Carmel, Indiana

Craig Straub, Ph.D.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Brenda Walker
Berkeley, California

Miles Wolpin, Ph.D.
Potsdam, New York

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT
is published quarterly.
© 2003 by The Social Contract Press
Editorial and subscription offices:
445 E. Mitchell Street
Petoskey, MI 49770-2623
Phone: 231.347.1171 (Fax: -1185)
E-mail: info@thesocialcontract.com
Web Page: www.thesocialcontract.com

Third Class postage is paid at Petoskey, MI.

A Note from the Editor

NAFTA After Ten Years: Murdoch Warns of Strife Ahead

After ten years, the North American Free Trade Agreement has failed to deliver the cross-border economic growth that advocates predicted. "We got it wrong," San Diego Regional Economic Development Corp. vice president Erik Bruvold admitted at a University of San Diego conference in late April.

The most active sectors of the economy have been in Mexico's *maquiladora* manufacturing industry and cross-border consumer spending (there are big Wal Marts on the Mexican side of the border). But the job growth they have created has been mainly in low-wage, entry-level jobs. And, recently, an estimated twenty percent of the *maquiladora* jobs have been lost, many to even cheaper locales in Central America and China.

Less than a third of Americans believe NAFTA is a good thing. Polls indicate a similar response among Canadians and Mexicans.

\+ + + +

Mass media mogul Rupert Murdoch recently told an audience of leading American business people in Beverly Hills, "There is going to be real trouble coming in Europe...The Muslim populations in France and Germany are in much larger proportion than what they are in this country, and they have made a very bad job of assimilating them." While the United States has "pockets of trouble here and there, they (Europe) have major centers of problems that are just boiling up. Paris is surrounded by vast blocks of tens of thousands of apartments—all Muslims, all no-go areas for police and totally lawless. There is more danger of terrorist attacks coming than what we have here," he observed.

Murdoch also sees Saudi Arabia as a dark cloud on the horizon for the world economy: "I think the most outstanding thing to worry about, if we are talking about urgency, is in the Middle East and it is with Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is really the swing. If there was a revolution there it would happen overnight and you might see oil go from US$40 to US$89 or US$90 a barrel and that wouldn't simply affect us. It would bring China and Japan and all those countries into a pretty terrible state." While Murdoch's remarks were widely circulated in Australia, U.S. media gave them much less play.

\+ + + +

As we were going to press, we discovered Harvard University economist George Borjas has released a new study documenting how two decades of growth in the supply of immigrant workers cost native-born American workers an average of $1,700 in annual wages, with Hispanic and black American workers being hurt the most by the influx of foreign-born job competitors. Proposals by President Bush and Congressional Democrats to open American labor markets to additional foreign workers would be to depress wage growth for Americans at all levels of education and job skills.

\+ + + +

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We wish to thank John Rohe for guest editing our opening section by interviewing former Colorado Governor Richard Lamm, and assembling a collection of some of his more provocative writings. Governor Lamm is still much in demand as a speaker and panelist on the subject of health care in America. Some years ago I was one of his constituents, and appreciated then that he was willing to buck the tide by drawing attention to those present and future problems that few other public officials, in either political party, recognized.

WAYNE LUTTON, PH.D.

Letters to the Editor

EDITOR:

Perry Lorenz may be right that electronics use relatively little energy, but most of the rest of his letter is terribly wrongheaded (*The Social Contract*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Fall 2003, p. 3).

(1) Heinberg's warning that information may become irretrievable in the absence of alternative power sources for the grid is not "nonsense" at all, but quite plausible. If energy from fossil fuels becomes increasingly scarce thanks to depletion and declining EROEI, and none of the alternatives (solar, wind, etc.) can adequately replace fossil fuels, then the abundant and utterly reliable supply of electricity on which the Information Economy absolutely depends will disappear. Sure, you can store your information on a disk, but so what? Storage is one thing, retrieval quite another. If large-scale power outages such as August 2003's become frequent and protracted, the Information Economy will no longer be viable.

(2) Depleting all oil resources as rapidly as possible is a very dangerous way to teach people about resource finitude. It is like slashing a hemophiliac's wrists in order to impress upon him that he has a problem with blood loss. Hmm.

(3) Lorenz's unfortunate fixation on "high-priced oil" misses the whole point of Campbell's and Heinberg's books. The real problem, to repeat, is that our entire way of life is dependent upon abundant supplies of oil and gas; that they are finite resources subject to depletion; that their worldwide extraction will soon peak and then relentlessly decline; that supplies will then be nowhere near sufficient to sustain our way of life; and that nothing can adequately replace oil and gas. "High-priced oil" will be the *least* of depletion's consequences.

Lorenz's statement, "Suggestions that civilization may collapse because of high-priced oil is far-fetched" is thus an exasperating misrepresentation of what Campbell, Heinberg, and I actually said, as well as an exercise in straw man-bashing. We did not suggest any such thing. Price is not the issue. Physical scarcity is the issue. A civilization which is absolutely dependent on a depleting resource is likely to collapse when that resource becomes too physically scarce to keep that civilization's activities going.

Just one example, which Lorenz entirely missed: modern agriculture is utterly dependent on oil for fuels and on natural gas for nitrogen fertilizers. It cannot function without them. Oil and gas depletion means our current mode of agriculture cannot endure. How is our civilization supposed to survive the collapse of its agriculture? Coal and nukes can't operate plows and combines and react with nitrogen to make nitrogen fertilizers. They can't be made into petrochemicals, of which we use half a million, either.

(4) Coal and nukes are no answers. We currently use oil, in the form of gasoline and diesel fuel, to mine coal! And coal is becoming increasingly costly, not least in energy, to extract. Anyone who thinks nuclear power is the answer needs to read Chapter 15, "Nuclear Power: A Nonsolution," of Garrett Hardin's *Living Within Limits*.

JOHN ATTARIAN, PH.D.
Ann Arbor, Michigan

EDITOR:

The Fall 2003 issue of *The Social Contract* is a premier issue! Every article so full of vital information. Dr. Tanton, I was especially interested in your correspondence with Dr. Borlaug about using crop residues for fuel. And I note David Pimentel's letter also. From my travels in some seventy countries I would agree with David that after population growth, the matter of loss of soil fertility through loss of the humus provided by the crop residues is the world's greatest problem. The world depends on the upper six inches of Earth's surface for its living and we are losing that six inches both in total loss by erosion but also in losing its fertility by removing crop residues to use as fuel.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I have seen it especially in Peru where I lived and worked for a number of years, and in China, te Philippines, Senegal. and worst of all, in Haiti.

Clearly the carrying capacity of the world is being markedly diminished daily, and what is going to stop it beyond famine I don't know. But we are surely headed that way in the not too long run. Here in the States I see the same thing in many areas, and the great push to produce ethanol from corn and from crop residues I look on as pure disaster.

I expect to draw on this issue of *The Social Contract* considerably for the revision of *GeoDestinies*. I hope to put out a second edition as there are many improvements and additional things I would like to put [in].

Wherever the world is going, we are getting there at an exponential pace which cannot be sustained. So, even at my age, I think I may live long enough to see the edge of the cliff ahead.

Again, I want to comment on what a splendid and most important issue you have compiled as your Fall 2003 issue.

WALTER YOUNGQUIST, PH.D.
Eugene, Oregon

EDITOR:

My name is Edwin Nyhus. I have been a carpenter since 1977. Currently, I am the Director of Organizing for the Michigan Regional Council of Carpenters.

Jobs in the building trades continue in a downward spiral because of the growing problem in America with the use of illegal immigrants. They are being smuggled in by greedy contractors and labor brokers who use them as "slave" labor. The illegals are paid sub-standard wages, receive little or no benefits, and are housed several in a room. The money they receive is sent back to their families with very little spent to support local economies in the areas in which they are working.

However, they are also taking away jobs from Americans and the unemployment lines continue to grow. The tax base in our country is being eroded because employers are not paying their fair share of taxes (local, state, and federal; unemployment and workers' compensation).

As the financial fabric of our country is being eroded and American families struggle to make ends meet, Tom Ridge (Homeland Security) is proposing that we give legal status to ten million illegal aliens. What we need to do is close our borders now, and we need to start putting our American workers first and maintain the high standard of living we have worked so hard to achieve.

EDWIN NYHUS
Brighton, Michigan

EDITOR:

I got some information off the FAIR website a few days ago in regards to population in the city of Santa Ana, California. The fact sheet indicates a 2002 population of 343,413 (which I suppose is already out of date) and a projected population of 479,000 for 2025. Right now the Hispanic residents (non-citizens) of Santa Ana are about 85% of the population of which approximately 75% are non-English speaking. There are currently shortages of housing, class rooms and teachers. The infrastructures (streets, sewers, etc.) gas, water, electricity are all at capacity right now which begs an answer to the question: "Where are all of these people going to live, go to school, etc.?"

I am not absolutely sure of the answer but I have a good idea what it is. I live in Costa Mesa which adjoins Santa Ana on parts of its southern border. I will have been here 20 years come August (in building maintenance, a licensed construction contractor since 1964 until a few years back when I got tired of the hassle etc.). This city has grown by anywhere from six to sixteen thousand. I am not absolutely sure but I don't think there have been more than a couple hundred homes or apartment buildings built in the last ten to fifteen years. So where are all these people living?

I know where they are going to school. There are four elementary schools within about two miles or less of where I live and every one of them has about four times the number of students they were designed for.

RICHARD GOFF
Costa Mesa, California

Correction: In the Winter 2003 issue of *The Social Contract,* Vol. XIV, No. 2, page 113, we neglected to acknowledge the source of the information about Muslim numbers in France as being Madame Michele Tribalat, formerly a member of the High Council on Integration in that country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tomorrow Rules

Our Guest Editor introduces the life and work of Richard D. Lamm

by John F. Rohe

In 1806, Thomas Jefferson addressed the "long run" in a letter to James Monroe: "Political interests [can] never be separated in the long run from the moral right." The "long run" has also captured the attention of Colorado's longest-serving Governor, Richard D. Lamm.

Guided by a conscience courting the future, Lamm has remained at the forefront of paradigm shifting social changes since the 1960s.

This edition of The Social Contract will examine Governor Lamm's personal history, his impressionable years, precipitous events, writings, motivational criteria, and accomplishments.

While a high school student in algebra, Lamm first confronted the daunting prospects of "doubling times" in an exponential curve: 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, then: 128, 256, 512, 1024, and watch this: 2048, 4096, 8192, 16384, 32768, 65536 etc. Students might seldom discern a relationship between exponential curves and life in general. Lamm's political and social conscience, however, would forever bear the weight of this lesson.

Manmade laws are appealable. There is no appeal from the graphic reality of an exponential curve. The law of exponential "doubling times" defies repeal. Lamm's world view brings the exponential curve into focus when tracking CO_2 emissions, health care expenses, resource depletion, energy consumption, and even the loss of civility on the streets.

In practical application, the exponential curve enables Lamm to comfortably inhabit a future domain. It led him to become a population activist in the '60s. Fertility rates responded to the activism by gradually declining around the globe. The decline was more precipitous in some regions than others. U.S. fertility rates, for example, plummeted from 3.5 to 1.7 children per woman between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s. Lamm then seamlessly migrated to the emerging mass immigration issue.

By drawing upon a masterful command of the language, [Lamm] dignifies a sensitivity for our successors and a patriotism for our national heritage.

His hopes and aspirations offer a promise for human compassion. Political success confirms that Lamm's cautionary message resonated with the voting public. By drawing upon a masterful command of the language, he dignifies a sensitivity for our successors and a patriotism for our national heritage.

He organized the NAACP at the University of California, and served as its first Vice President. Upon graduating from law school, he was employed by the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission and has been the recipient of numerous brotherhood awards.

In 1967 Lamm was drawn into the national spotlight by becoming the chief sponsor of the nation's first liberalized abortion law. Here, he encountered the risk of being reduced to "political oblivion." This came on the heels of leading the fight against hosting the 1976 Olympics in Colorado. This was the first time that the recipient of the winning bid turned it down. As a CPA and chair of the Audit Committee, he noticed that the promoters had ignored important environmental concerns, and underestimated the costs. He was able to place a constitutional amendment on

John F. Rohe *is an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan with a long-standing concern for the environment. He is the author of* A Bicentennial Malthusian Essay: Conservation and the Indifference to Limits, *available from The Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the ballot (100,000 signatures). In 1972, the voters turned down the Olympics.

Lamm grapples with our dual, and often antagonistic, responsibility to become good neighbors and also good ancestors. His passion for the common good in crafting public policy was inspired by John F. Kennedy. Colorado offered fertile ground for Lamm's ideas to be formulated and nurtured. In a book of photographs and essays entitled *The Mountains of Colorado*, he observes: "... without hesitation that the peaks of the Colorado Rockies truly do have the power to change a person, to broaden one's thinking. Few who witness the majesty of these lonely, windswept heights walk away unaffected."

In challenging an unjust and financially crippled health care system, Lamm speaks with unstinting certainty. The patient on his operating table is the ailing health care system. He identifies the ills as communal rather than private. He stalks pathogens in the system with scientific rigor. His remedy calls for a prescription of both social and medical dosages. He willingly embraces the politically unpopular "R-word": Rationing.

Grim facts swirl with fury on Lamm's exponential chart of health care expenses. We have "substituted morbidity for mortality" in providing the costliest high tech care in the world to prolong misery for the final stages of life. Meanwhile, thousands of children lack dental care, and expectant mothers are deprived of prenatal services. As to the "R-word," Lamm laments that we are already rationing care, but just irrationally. Confronting the stark reality of our system, Lamm concludes that at some point we have a "duty to die." His opponents responded by labeling him "Governor Gloom."

It is deceptively simple-minded to see an agent of gloom or pessimism behind Lamm's pen. To understand his frame of reference is to appreciate the overwhelming sense of optimism needed to believe in the prospects for positive change.

When detractors point out that longer life spans have justified the expense, Lamm offers this reminder. The major extensions to longevity have coincided with advances in public health (sanitation, nutrition, working conditions, education), rather than with exponential advances in health care costs.

In 1985, he authored *Megatraumas*. In this assessment of the year 2000, Lamm accurately predicted the concentration of crime, continued population explosion in underprivileged lands, budget deficits, unlimited health care demands shouldered by parsimonious taxpayers, degradation of soils, resource depletion, toxic waste, collapse of Argentina's economy, biodiversity losses, foreign energy dependence, resource wars, water shortages, security threats from greenhouse gases, two million legal and illegal immigrants per year, middle class erosion, debilitating Third World debt, and trade imbalances. On the other hand, he also predicted unemployment would reach 15.2% by 1990. Had he forecasted underemployment by 2004, the projection would have been an understatement.

Among his critics, Lamm's only sin was one of timing. They were not ready for his insights. He arrived too soon. His only transgression was against the prevailing conventional wisdom. As he guided the ethical framework for environmental, population, immigration, and civil rights issues, his advocacy awaits the judgment of future historians. They will become the final arbiters.

In striking the balance between today's good neighbor and tomorrow's good ancestor, Lamm regrets our compassionate short term obsessions. In 1985, he reflected on the eventual assessment of our stewardship in "The Heresy Trial of the Reverend Richard Lamm," found in the *Environmental Law Journal* : "We waited too long. We sowed the wind and we must now reap the whirlwind."

Amid Colorado's snow-capped mountains and lush valleys, Lamm's love of the wilderness conspires with his sensitivities to impart a panoramic bird's eye view of life. He continues to be poised above self-absorbed consumerism, as he draws upon the redemptive power of the place.

Over the decades, Lamm's message has matured. It incrementally assumes greater eloquence and clarity. Meanwhile, it retains the same vitality, freshness, and poignancy as when the high school algebra student experienced his first epiphany with the exponential curve.

By peering through Lamm's Galilean telescope we catch a glimpse of his conservation ethic as he fashions accountable working rules for tomorrow. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Richard D. Lamm

Richard D. Lamm is Co-Director of the Institute for Public Policy Studies at the University of Denver, and the former three-term Governor of Colorado. (1975-1987) He is both a lawyer (Berkeley, 1961) and a Certified Public Accountant. He joined the faculty of the University of Denver in 1969 and has, except for his years as Governor, been associated with the University ever since.

Lamm was selected as one of Time Magazine's "200 Young Leaders of America" in 1974, and won the Christian Science Monitor "Peace 2020" essay in 1985. In 1992, he was honored by the Denver Post and Historic Denver, Inc. as one of the "Colorado 100" - people who made significant contributions to Colorado and made lasting impressions on the state's history. He was Chairman of the Pew Health Professions Commission and a public member of the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education.

Lamm has appeared on virtually every national news program, including *Buchanan & Press* (MSNBC), *Larry King Live* and *Inside Politics* (CNN), *Today* (NBC), Meet the Press (NBC), ABC's *Good Morning America*, *Lehrer NewsHour* (PBS), and CBS's *Face the Nation*. His editorials have appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle, New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Newsday, Boston Globe, Los Angeles Times*, and *Chicago Tribune*, as well as in a number of academic and medical journals. While Governor, Lamm wrote or co-authored six books: *A California Conspiracy*, with Arnold Grossman (St. Martin's Press, 1988); *Megatraumas: America in the Year 2000* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985), *The Immigration Time Bomb: The Fragmenting of America*, with Gary Imhoff (Dutton and Company, 1985), *1988*, with Arnie Grossman (St. Martin's Press, 1985), *Pioneers & Politicians*, with Duane A. Smith (Pruett Publishing Company, 1984) and *The Angry West*, with Michael McCarthy (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982).

Lamm has always been in the forefront of political change. As a first year legislator, he drafted and succeeded in passing the nation's first liberalized abortion law. He was an early leader of the environmental movement, and was President of the First National Conference on Population and The Environment. Reacting to the high cost of campaigning, he walked the state in his campaign for Governor of Colorado. Lamm was elected to three terms as Colorado's top elected official, and in serving as Governor from January 1975 and retiring in January 1987, he was the longest-serving Governor in Colorado's history to that date.

The Institute for Public Policy Studies at the University of Denver comprises the Public Affairs Program (Bachelor's in Public Affairs), the Graduate Program in Public Policy (Master's in Public Policy, MPP), and the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues. In addition to directing the University of Denver's academic policy programs, the Institute for Public Policy Studies contributes to the study and discussion of American society's most critical issues through an active program of conferences, seminars, forums and publications.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Conservationist's Politician

An interview with Richard Lamm, former Governor of Colorado

by John F. Rohe

On February 6, 2004, John Rohe conducted a telephone interview with former Governor Richard Lamm of Colorado, the longest serving governor in Colorado's history.

John Rohe: Good afternoon, Governor.

Richard Lamm: Hello.

JR: Thank you for sharing time with The Social Contract *this afternoon. Governor, this edition of* The Social Contract *will include portions of your curriculum vitae and several of your writings. The readership will know much of what you did, but not necessarily why. It might be helpful to revisit experiences in your childhood and impressionable years. Let's discuss the influential persons and events leading you to the forefront of the social issues championed in your time.*

RL: My parents taught me to love the outdoors. I think that's the single biggest influence. I gained a love and passion for outdoor experiences of all kinds. People who love the outdoors are sort of harbingers for the rest of society, because it is our values that are being trampled on first by the inexplicable forces that we're interested in. So, I start off with number one, the fishing, the hunting, the hikes, the love of the outdoors. Second of all, I was not a high school athlete. That led me to have a variety of exotic jobs that absolutely stamped my life. When I was in high school, I worked in a resort that you had to fly into way up in Canada. And then the following summer, I was a deck hand on an ore boat in the Great Lakes. The following summer I worked in a lumber camp in Oregon, and the following summer, I was a runner on the New York Stock Exchange and lived in Greenwich Village. Adventurous things compensated in my psyche for the fact that I couldn't make the team. They had the indirect benefit of making me self-reliant and an independent thinker. Those are two that come to mind.

JR: Where did you grow up?

RL: I lived in northern Illinois until age 12. I went to a one-room school house. That was all part of loving the outdoors. I lived in a very rural community. When I was twelve, my family moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania where I graduated from high school. Those are the two formative places.

JR: Was your father both a hunter and fisher?

RL: He was.

JR: How about your mother?

RL: She wasn't. But she was encouraging of it. There were three boys in our family. They would send us to camp; they would encourage our love of the outdoors. She was very supportive.

JR: Where would your family go on vacations?

RL: Well, because we lived in northern Illinois we would go up fishing in Wisconsin. That was a very common vacation. And when we moved to Pennsylvania, my father and I used to do a lot of trout fishing in the Pennsylvania streams. And then we would hunt – I didn't hunt until after I was 12-years old. My father would take me out a couple times a season and teach me how to use a gun and how to hunt.

JR: What years would we be looking at?

***John Rohe**, a practicing attorney in Petoskey, Michigan, is guest editor of this issue of* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

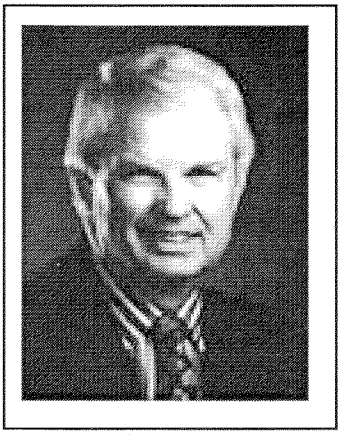
RL: About 1946 to 1953. Those were the times when he was busy in his business, but he always found time to take us into the outdoors.

JR: Would you characterize your father as a conservationist?

RL: Absolutely.

JR: Were there influential writings at that time?

RL: Yes. The love of books was also promoted by my parents. My mother and father both would read to us. I remember my father reading *Black Beauty* and *The Yearling,* among many others. The books would teach us to love the outdoors. All three boys are great readers, with houses just filled with books. I did not, however, come across the rich literature on the environment until I was in college.



Richard D. Lamm

JR: Were there other people in the early days to nudge you in a certain direction; to instill the sensitivities that carried you through life? Family members? Teachers?

RL: Well, beyond that, I think I was fairly autodidactic. A lot of people were a small influence, but I was sort of a rolling stone. I can remember all kinds of people on the ore boats, or people in Oregon. We would go out and do things together. I'd find people who had a mutual respect for the outdoors, and we would recreate.

JR: You were elected to the Colorado House of Representatives between 1966 to 1974. Were there any elected posts before that?

RL: I ran once for class office when I was in school and lost.

JR: What prompted you to take an interest in the House of Representatives in the mid-60s?

RL: I had no prior interest in politics. I was in law school in Berkeley from 1958 until 1961, and a guy named John F. Kennedy came along. This really changed my life. It was literally a conversion experience. I went from having no interest in politics to a great and perhaps naïve idealism about using government to solve the world's problems. So the inspiration for me getting into politics was John F. Kennedy; the hope and the electricity that he shot through our generation of young people.

JR: Did you ever have occasion to meet him personally?

RL: Never did.

JR: Did you work on his campaign?

RL: The first campaign I ever worked on was Kennedy's 1960 campaign. He touched what somebody called "The better angels of our nature." We were an idealistic generation, and Kennedy reflected that. Stevenson had before that too, but Stevenson did not affect me. He affected a number of other people, but I was only vaguely aware of Stevenson. But when Kennedy came on the scene, I began to see that public policy was among the highest of callings. When the student is ready, the teacher appears.

JR: Were you and your family Democrats before the Kennedy era?

RL: My family were Republicans; fairly conventional business people, and I voted for Eisenhower the first time he ran for office in 1956. I was in college. That was before law school obviously. I just went ahead and voted, I suppose, my family's predispositions and voted Republican for Eisenhower. I, by the way, am not sorry that I did that. Eisenhower, I do think, was quite a guy in a lot of ways, but that's a more complicated story.

JR: So it was Kennedy that nudged you over to the Left?

RL: I would not say nudged me to the Left, but probably the same thing. He inspired us to use government to correct problems.

JR: How did it happen that about six years after the electric inspiration from John Kennedy, you found yourself in the Colorado House of Representatives?.

RL: I moved to Colorado in 1961 right out of law school, and I didn't know a soul when I arrived here. Because I was young and idealistic, I got involved in the Young Democrats, and soon became president of the Denver Young Democrats. Then I became vice

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

president of the Colorado Young Democrats, and then in 1966, as vice president of the Colorado Young Democrats, I realized that there was a seat in the legislature that I could possibly win. With great audacity, and little realization of what I was undertaking, I ran for the legislature and won. I was 31 years old.

JR: Was it your love of the land that drew you to Colorado?

RL: It was love of the outdoors. It was mountain climbing, kayaking, and skiing.

JR: Downhill or cross-country?

RL: Both.

JR: What causes were you aligned with in 1965 when you were running for the House of Representatives for the first time?

RL: Well, I think the biggest cause of all those early years was the Civil Rights Movement. There were lots of good things that we wanted to do, but Civil Rights was the passion of our time. I started recognizing that growth was bringing both benefits and harm to Colorado, and that we should find ways to minimize the harm. As a young lawyer, I became a non-paid lobbyist for the Colorado Women's Garden Club. The first time I walked into the Colorado State Capitol, I was fighting for billboard legislation.

JR: Let's talk billboards. What year was that?

RL: It would be about 1962. I was working at one point for the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission as a lawyer – but I never really got very far away from some aspect of the environment. Ironically, it may not be the biggest issue now, but billboards seemed to me a particular interesting cause because a billboard doesn't make people sleep in any more beds. In a beautiful tourist state, it doesn't make people eat any more meals. It just directs them to specific establishments. People don't generally spend any more tourist dollars. I had a real concern and passion on this issue. I wrote a *Law Review* article on billboards. I recognize now that it was my concern about sprawl and growth, and a lot of other things. But it first manifested itself in asking why we litter our beautiful highways with billboards.

JR: *Edward Abbey's characters went after billboards in* The Monkey Wrench Gang. *Was the book released by then?*

RL: It was later. I got to know Edward Abbey.

JR: When did you meet Ed Abbey?

RL: I met Ed Abbey in 1974.

JR: What is your recollection of Abbey?

RL: Well, I used the power of the governor's office. I

"I wrote a Law Review article on billboards. I recognize now that it was my concern about sprawl and growth, and a lot of other things. But it first manifested itself in asking why we litter our beautiful highways with billboards."

was elected in 1974. I wrote to Ed Abbey and said I would like to take a river trip with him. We never got together on that river trip. We tried, but we never did. But he came to see Dottie and me, in the governor's mansion. It was one of the charms of being governor. You would issue an invitation, even to a guy as unorthodox as Edward Abbey. He came by, I would say, four or five times when we were in the governor's mansion. He had dinner with us, or joined us in a social obligation of some sort. Quite a lady's man.

JR: One of his memorable quotes was "Growth for the sake of growth is the ideology of a cancer cell."

RL: Exactly. I'm just sorry – I thought I would have a lifetime to get to know Ed Abbey, and he went way too soon. He was an incredibly romantic character in addition to being a great environmentalist.

JR: Governor, I tend to see you on the forefront of three basic categories of causes: civil rights, environment, and health care. There might also be others. You were there for civil rights in the early 60s, for the environment, population (births and deaths),

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and for health care. You probed our conscience on the leading issues of the day. Is there a unifying theme among these causes?

RL: One attribute ties those categories together, and also inspires others. It is confronting growth. Early on I recognized that we were living on the upper shoulders of awesome geometric curves.

JR: Where were you introduced to this concept?

RL: In part, this results from my high school algebra teachers. The whole geometry of growth, the demands of geometry, and how fast it multiplied when you lived on the upper slope. I can remember this very vividly. Actually I almost stayed in California. It really related to the same thing. I looked half a lifetime down the road in California. As much as I loved California at the time, I thought I was perceptive because California, to my values, was going to be overrun. So I moved to Colorado. Immediately I saw it overrun. It sort of followed me. I wasn't as smart as I thought.

JR: What did the algebra lesson teach you about the human experience?

RL: At some point in the geometric curve, society has to recognize, and recognize in time, the implications. During my professional lifetime, health care has grown at two-and-a-half times the rate of inflation. No trees grow to the sky, and no element of our budget can grow at two-and-a-half times the rate of inflation. So I got on that because I had to balance the budget as governor, and health care was driving it so much. I started really looking at how many of our resources were going into health care and not keeping us any healthier than countries that spend half of what we spend. That led me into death and dying, and of course, the whole appreciation of senectitude was always in my mind with regard to the environment. I couldn't understand why people couldn't see that we were growing a "Los Angeles" of the Rockies in Colorado. I used to say, I didn't blame anybody for Los Angeles growing like it did, because they had no precedence, but Colorado could look at Los Angeles and see what this mindless lust for growth was getting us. So, yes, I think that the one thing that tied these things together was an appreciation of how fast the curves involved were ascending.

JR: Did you have any advanced math courses in college or beyond?

RL: I was in business school, and I actually graduated with an accounting degree. I took a lot of accounting classes, but that is not mathematics, and I did not have any higher math.

JR: The students of a business and a CPA curriculum often have an affinity for growth. Somehow people make it through our educational curriculum without ever having occasion critically to examine the assumption that growth is good and more growth is better.

RL: That is a very important point, and I think that is absolutely right. Accounting is a field for often myopic people. It taught me, however, that you have to think of a balance sheet. You have to think about both assets and liabilities. The business page would run here in Colorado: "Good news today, we got a new Martin Marietta plant that would account for 3,000 jobs." I would immediately try to think about the implications of this. Is this going to last for 200 years? Are we going to continue to say this is the way we should run the economy? Early on, I didn't use the word "sustainability," but instinctively, I have passionately believed that we have to move from growth to sustainability. Many of my battles have contained that theme.

JR: Why is it so difficult for us to make the transition from growth to sustainability?

RL: Well, that's one of the reasons they called me "governor gloom" out here. I certainly hope I'm wrong. My own take on this is that the traits that allow humans to prevail in a harsh and cruel natural world and overcome both their competitors and their harsh environment now threaten us. Survival traits that worked for us against a cruel world now threaten to doom us. One of the things that impassions me is that there is very little time left to try to make the world move from growth to sustainability. If we don't, we are condemning our children and grandchildren to a very unfortunate future. I have this sense of immediacy that we have to find a way to stabilize population and to reduce the consumption. This is, in fact, a hinge of human history that is not unlike the agriculture revolution or the industrial revolution. We have to move to a more benign way of living.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JR: You invoke the phrase, "governor gloom." I just wonder if there really is a sense of pessimism or if there is an overriding spirit of optimism that might actually be driving you to think that you can meaningfully impact and direct where we're proceeding.

RL: Very perceptive, John. Of course, it is optimism. I think there is a chance, a good chance. I wouldn't be working this hard, I guess, if I thought that there wasn't a chance. Every generation is called upon for different functions. My father had to deal with the Depression and the Second World War. I think our generation has had to deal with civil rights and some of the other issues, which are subsets of sustainability. I think that we have to learn to live within certain limits in health care, and certainly in environment.

"I can't imagine an environmental organization not dealing with what I consider to be one of the top environmental issues of any society, and that is its population, its ultimate demographic impact."

JR: At the time of this interview, you are a candidate for the Sierra Club Board of Directors. What prompted you to throw your hat in the ring for the Sierra Club Board.

RL: I can't imagine an environmental organization not dealing with what I consider to be one of the top environmental issues of any society, and that is its population, its ultimate demographic impact. To me it would be the same as if you say you're for civil rights, but you're not for fair housing. Or you're for the women's movement, but you're not for equal pay or equal work. It is integral in my definition. I think the biggest environmental challenge falls under an umbrella term called "sustainability." Under that, are a number of things, and very chief among them are the questions of reducing consumption, reducing the toxic impact, whether that is water or air pollution, and population. I think the Sierra Club could win absolutely every battle it has been fighting for, and still lose America if they ignore population. If you wave a magic wand, they automatically win: no drilling on the North Slope, clean air, and all those other things. If present immigration continues, you still would have a terrible and poor environment in America with half a billion people; I think it's environmental malpractice to ignore immigration. That's what I think they are doing. They just ignore immigration in pursuit of smaller, though important issues. They ignore the looming issue of the demographic destiny of the United States. How many people can live satisfied lives in an ecosystem within the carrying capacity of our region?

JR: Well, the opposition has not refrained from labeling people concerned about immigration reform and concerned about our demographic destiny with unsavory terminology. I would welcome your thoughts on the philosophical framework under which the other side of the Sierra Club is operating. What is behind it? What makes it tick? Where is it coming from?

RL: Like it is with so much else in life, I think the things people say and the perceptions that they evidence say more about them than they do about the people that they're often making the perceptions about. When we didn't have the money, we raised the money for my wife, Dottie, to participate in the famous Selma civil rights march. I organized and was the first vice president of the NAACP at the University of California in 1959.

JR: Your record stands for itself.

RL: Yes, and I have sadness and pity for people who say these things to hold on to power. To me it is McCarthyism. What's practically at work here is the philosophical and the practical. An ex-president of the Sierra Club told me that they have made a nefarious political deal with the Hispanic Caucus where they will get Hispanic Caucus votes in exchange for votes on the North Shore drilling and issues like that, but they then have to keep away from immigration. I asked this guy, "What would you think if I ran the Sierra Club, and I would sell out drilling on the North Shore in favor of some sort of political advantage?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You just wonder what kind of unprincipled people are these? The Sierra Club looks at itself as a wheeler dealer in the environment. I've been reading a book by Michael Cohen about the history of the Sierra Club. Dave Brower was involved in a very similar thing. The Sierra Club became very big and powerful with people running it who felt they had a lot of power with the forest service and the agricultural department, and this was what they were doing. They ceased fighting for certain things. David Brower came along and kicked them. I think there are a number of us now who are trying to kick the Sierra Club in the same way.

"I find nowhere in the world where diverse people live together in peace if their language and their culture compete within a geographic area."

JR: Governor, there have been a number of articles that you have written over the years that deal with community. Titles such as "Commandments of Community" come to mind. Please comment on how you define a community, and what those commandments might be.

RL: I believe a community is not a state of nature. A herd, or a flock, is a state of nature. I think America has been very lucky that we took incredibly diverse people from all over the world. We made them Americans. The only way my grandfather could speak to your grandfather was to learn a common language. They both came from a long way away. They had to throw themselves into the continent. They didn't have enough money to go back like the Spanish conquistadors south of us. So the society we developed here in the United States assimilated a group of very diverse people, and I now am very much worried about whether or not balkanization isn't in the slow process taking place in the United States. I find nowhere in the world where diverse people live together in peace if their language and their culture compete within a geographic area. Just like I think that I have been on the cutting edge of population and health care, and other issues, I now think there is a new issue in addition to sustainability. It isn't quite as grandiose, but it is a very important issue. What kind of social glue does society need to keep diverse people together?

JR: How do you reconcile your concerns about diversity with your activism on civil rights?

RL: I think that the genius of America has got to be the fact that we take diverse people and we absorb them into our society and treat them equally as our fellow citizens. In the case of the black community, and in some cases of the Hispanic community, that was not being done. I think there was racism and discrimination in the United States that needed to be fought. I think now, however, that while there still is racism and discrimination, that the dialogue has to move on. It has to move on to some of these other issues. Nobody will even talk about community. Unfortunately you have certain issues like bilingual education or bilingual society that are being ignored. It is a blessing for an indivjdual to be bilingual, but it is a curse for a society to be bilingual. I know of no place in the world where two different competing languages live together in peace. They generally are fighting and killing each other.

JR: Immanuel Kant once said, "The great dividers are language and religion."

RL: I think Kant turned out to be wrong on religion today. I think we have now overcome religion [as divisive]. I don't know the religious inclinations of most of my friends, but I do think he was right on language. You've got to, at minimum, be able to speak to your neighbors. This relates to the whole question about what social glue ties us together. It seems a diverse people is like a nuclear power plant with rods that pull in and keep the explosion from happening. Not to mix my metaphors, but you need bridge builders, you need people to come along and mediate, to have some common symbols, like the flag, and a common history that everyone honors. You need to have some sort of civic engagement. You have to ask your community what you can do for it, not the other way around. Just as every house is not a home, every spot on the map is not a community. A community is not something that just happens. It is something that is built and sacrificed for and worked for. Right now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when I look at the fact that, let's take California, New York, New Jersey, and Florida where in a very short period of time, you are going to have a majority of minorities working and paying into Social Security and the health care system. They will support a minority of "majority" people, when they often can't even afford to have health care of their own. I think that there is some tension building into this society; there is geographic tension, there is ethnic tension, there are all of these, there are partisan tensions. But I think a smart society has to anticipate, to foresee, and to forestall. We are not doing this well presently.

JR: Have you given any thought to the factors affecting the assimilative capacity of a community?

RL: I suppose that would be a factor of a couple different things. Numbers would be the chief one. We are taking so many immigrants from Spanish speaking societies, that we risk becoming a bilingual/bicultural society. We assimilate better when the numbers are not so large, and we don't allow competing societies within our society. I think presently, we risk becoming an Hispanic Quebec.

JR: I have heard you speak in the past, Governor, on the notion that we need to think about becoming good ancestors. Please elaborate on that.

RL: I do that as a Democrat. I think that the Democratic Party makes great neighbors. They care about their neighbors, and that's what attracted me to the Democratic Party. But I think this great party that I so passionately adopted in the sixties is now buying social justice on our children's credit card. So, I think the Democratic Party, and the Republican Party too – I'm still a Democrat because it still is better of the two parties by far – can't purchase social justice and then hand the bill to your children and your grandchildren. So I'm arguing that the Democrats have been great neighbors; they really have wanted to develop programs to help people. But they've been poor ancestors because of their tendency to build up a fiscal chain around the necks of our children and grandchildren. This tendency is now much more marked recently by the Republican Party.

JR: Do you see that as an offshoot of both the Democrats' and the Republicans' inability to come to grips with the notion of finitude that you spoke of earlier?

RL: Absolutely. We have no sense of limits. I think Keynes was right. What the Democrats did originally was to borrow money when they fought the depression and WW II, but they paid it back. Now the Republicans have locked us into endless borrowing– at least the Democrats had an intellectual basis for this. Keynes said you could borrow money in bad times to stimulate the economy, and you pay it back in good times. Well, the Democrats sort of forgot the second part of that equation, and started borrowing year after year, and then the Republicans have come along cynically and purposefully running up debt, I think, because they want to put government under incredible fiscal constraints. Yes, I definitely feel this is all the same thing. I think that my definition of sustainability is that I should leave my children a sustainable society. And that is not only the environment; although that's one of my biggest passions. It is also this: I inherited the world's largest creditor nation, I'm leaving to my children the world's largest debtor nation. I inherited a nation that produced more than it consumed, and I'm leaving to my children a nation that consumes more than it produces. I inherited a small federal debt, I'm leaving my children with a staggering federal debt. I think all of that is the same, whether it is the environment or the economy. Our generation, John, I believe have been poor ancestors.

JR: Okay, there is a final thought I would like to explore with you Governor. In all of the cutting edge issues you have pioneered, you're ultimately trafficking in the world of ideas. You, more so than perhaps any other person of our day, have actively seen several ideas start from a seedling and grow into a national movement. Some, like immigration, are still in the earlier stages of development. Others have come full circle and blossomed. I wonder if you could comment on how ideas emerge in the world of ideas in this nation of ours. How do they build and how do they grow to the so-called tipping point and beyond?

RL: My college roommate was Steve Ambrose, the historian. I've always had a passion for history. One of the things history teaches me is that the world is ever-changing. It's a kaleidoscope. Time moves that kaleidoscope and presents a different pattern. If you

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

really appreciate history and you appreciate how history has changed, you realize that it is of immense importance for every generation to sit down and think about and anticipate how that world is changing and how we can keep on top of that change. I would have voted for the whole New Deal. But I think that the New Deal has become demographically obsolete. I'm living too long, and my kids aren't having enough children. I've been wrong many times too, but I think I've at least had an appreciation that the status quo is always going to be undercut by some trend that is out there. It may be like when OPEC was announced on page 43 of the *Wall Street Journal*. If people were perceptive enough, and I wasn't, but if people were perceptive enough, they would look at that and say, "Well, wait a minute." So I have had a great passion for trying to foresee and forestall.

JR: Those are great words, we have to foresee and forestall, and if we don't . . .

RL: I think that I spend a lot of time thinking about where is our society going. I'm often wrong. I wrote a book called *Megatraumas: America in the Year 2000* that I'm very proud of to this day. I certainly was right in a lot of things, but I also said that gold was going to be $2,000 an ounce.

JR: Let's take the immigration issue. Eventually this country is going to recognize this as an enormous issue. Before we become a nation of a billion people, it seems that conventional wisdom might be connecting the dots. When the light bulb comes on, it will be a recognized topic that people can discuss freely without having their parentage questioned. How will we get to that point?

RL: I think that there is almost a pattern of change in our lifetime. The first stage is "no talk, no do." This just wasn't an issue. This was the way God made the world. Then all of a sudden somebody comes along, it could be a Martin Luther King or a Gloria Steinham, or a Betty Friedan, or a John Tanton who says, "Wait a minute, wait a minute." So, the second stage is "talk, no do." Nothing is happening on it, but the perceptive people are saying, "now wait a minute, have you thought about this?" We're heading America towards unacceptable numbers. The third stage is "talk, do." That's where you will not only be talking about a problem, but you'll be forming organizations and trying to get some political muscle to what you're concerned about. Then the fourth stage, and I can't wait until we get there on immigration, is "no talk, do." People aren't even arguing about the women's movement anymore. The paradigm has shifted. We went from "no talk, no do" to "no talk, just do." Half the medical schools and half the law schools are filled with women, so the paradigm has shifted, and I think with immigration, we're still at the third stage where we're talking about it and doing something about it. We have most of society persuaded. But the epicenter of power in our society continues to look at this problem with old eyes.

"Every poll that you look at for the last 20 years shows that a majority of Americans are concerned about the rate and pace of population growth....It's building up. I think it's very unwise to have a majority feeling very strongly about a subject while allowing it to, in fact, get worse and worse and worse. At some point there will be a backlash."

JR: Do you see the sentiment of the nation already being well on the side of talking and doing, but yet the opinion leaders, the government, the elected officials, the media are not quite there yet?

RL: Every poll that you look at for the last 20 years shows that a majority of Americans are concerned about the rate and pace of population growth. I think that there is an elite in the United States, either for business reasons or political reasons, or for political correctness reasons, who have refused to recognize

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and honor this. It's building up. I think it's very unwise to have a majority feeling very strongly about a subject while allowing it to, in fact, get worse and worse and worse. At some point there will be a backlash. Right now, it's very hard to see how that's going to come about. The new minority in America is Hispanic. Most Hispanics agree with the majority on terms of limits on the numbers. Every once in awhile in history, the people will have to take a very different viewpoint from their leadership on an issue, and it generally causes some turmoil.

JR: Can you think of any other causes in your lifetime where there has been such a divergence between the conventional wisdom of the people and the mindset of the elected officials?

RL: I can't. I suppose you could say Vietnam. It's the whole thing about the leader who says, "there goes my people, I have to hurry to get ahead of them." I think the political leadership is often reactive. By the time it gets to the political system, the political system is almost always reactive. I think you're only going to get something through the legislature by a majority vote of very conventional people. And so I think that the agents of change out there always have a frustrating time trying to change the status quo, but it changes. But on this one, I very much worry about your point, because this isn't just another issue. This is an issue that people really do feel very strongly about. If we continue to take four times the number of immigrants, legally plus illegal immigrants and nobody does anything about it, I think that we do run the risk of social turmoil.

JR: Are there any other issues that touch your conscience today?

RL: We haven't talked about one issue that just haunts me. I guess it haunts us all. If global warming is a reality, and I think it is likely to be, how do we live lives, how do we structure society, how do we solve poverty, how do we continue to have justice?

JR: How might you answer your question?

RL: Again, history teaches me that there is a real race between enlightenment on an issue and waiting too long at which time there is turmoil. I think that during the first part of my political career, and the last 40 years of American political history, you could solve problems by giving people additional rights and protection. I think that it wasn't a zero-sum game at all. Now, whether it's the environment or Social Security or health security, there is no recognition that finitude is going to require us to take back things from people. What unions call give backs – where the company has to take back benefits that have been given to the unions for a couple of years. It has to be taken back because it is unaffordable. Well, I think our political system – Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare, a lot of our retirement programs – are not sustainable. So we are going to have to take back some benefits. I think our children are paying into systems like Social Security and Medicare that are not going to be there in the same form when they get to be that ripe age. So all of these things are coming to a head. But the biggest one, the biggest take back is the American sense that we can continue to grow and grow and consume and consume without limits. I think this is why this problem of sustainability is going to be such a gigantic challenge. I don't think it is going to be achieved by democratic means. I think it's most likely to continue to get worse, until some sort of traumatic event happens. And traumatic events are things that change the course of history. If through democratic means you can't get people to develop a greater recognition of the environmental and fiscal dangers, then apparently you have to run the economy, and/or the environment off a cliff, and try to pick up the pieces. I hate to say it, because that's not my first choice. That might be the most likely scenario. We're going to drive both the fiscal stability of the United States, the environmental sustainability, and the ecosystem of our world into chaos. For our successors, it's going to be a matter of picking up the pieces rather than preserving what we have.

JR: Well, as we strive to proceed on that course, hopefully, for your advocacy, you're able to know in your heart that you're carrying the message as best you can.

RL: That's a wonderful way to end.

JR: Governor, again, thank you very much for your time. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Crime of the Century

by Richard D. Lamm

I have just participated in the *greatest embezzlement* in all of history. In my 60-plus years, I have never seen such a perfect crime. Like most other master criminals, I am heady with success and feel a need to brag. I kid you not; never before has one group appropriated as much money that belonged to another group in the history of crime. The victims, while they are increasingly suspicious, *still* do not know they have been had. It was literally and figuratively as easy as taking candy out of the mouths of babes.

Here's how we did it: The first rule of embezzlement is to find some naive patsy. We sensed thirty years ago that the younger generation was not paying enough attention to public policy, so we quietly found ways to maintain our lifestyles and charge it to the next generation. While those of you under 45 were preoccupied with other things, my generation dumped the largest load of debt on you that history has ever seen.

A good scam needs a compassionate come-on. In our case, we developed a new term, "poor elderly." To this day, most Americans do not understand that this is actually two words and that "poor" no longer describes the elderly as a class. There are, of course, poor elderly, but as a class, the elderly have the most discretionary income of any group in America (except those in the age bracket of 55-65).

Next, we devised a number of systems that allowed us to charge our retirement to the next generation of Americans, who will wake up to find they are on the losing side of a Ponzi scheme. Like all good con artists, we relied on trust. We told them there was a "trust" fund for both Social Security and Medicare. Of course, this was a lie. There is no trust fund, in the normal sense of the word, because we take this month's Social Security taxes from today's workers and pay them to today's elderly.

Then we tell today's workers not to worry–the money is being held in "trust." In actual fact (as Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina has observed), they would be no better off if the fund was invested in Confederate war bonds. The trust fund is a sham, because it only contains IOUs that tomorrow's generation of workers will have to (mostly) pay off themselves. They will have to pay for both our retirement and their own. Not bad. We succeeded in taking money from poor workers in Saint Paul and sending it to wealthy retirees in Saint Petersburg – and no one was the wiser. But, I have hardly begun.

The perfect embezzlement maximizes its take. We soon found there was money left over after paying the Social Security funds to today's elderly, and we did not want to stop halfway. Would a self-respecting crook leave money lying in the bank vault after a robbery? Hell no. We completed the job by something called the "consolidated budget." This allowed us to quietly take the Social Security funds left over to reduce our taxes by spending the money on current government services. Under the consolidated budget, we could legally "borrow" the money in the "trust" fund left over every year and spend it on current government services, thereby reducing our yearly taxes.

Virtually every year for the last thirty-five years, we understated the yearly deficit and understated the total federal debt. Even though the official federal debt is approximately $6.5 trillion, the amount actually passed on to the

---

This is an excerpt from The Brave New World of Health Care *by* ***Richard D. Lamm****, Speaker's Corner Books, 2003. Used with permission from The Brave New World of Healthcare by Richard Lamm.* *Copyright 2004. Fulcrum Publishing, Inc., Golden, Colorado. All rights reserved.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

next generation is closer to $20 trillion. My generation are master embezzlers. The entire scheme was done with clever accounting gimmicks, which allowed us to minimize our taxes and maximize our spending while we passed the bill on to the next generation. By the time they, like many victims of a crime, figure it out, I will be long gone.

I have completely and totally spent the Social Security Trust Fund and left nothing in trust, absolutely nothing, for today's workers to pay future obligations. They will have to either raise their taxes substantially or dramatically reduce their benefits under the system. They have no other practical alternatives. They may, of course, try to do the same thing that my generation did and try to perpetrate the Ponzi scheme, but I doubt it will work. Young people catch on at some point. The true perfect crime only works once.

The next generation will wake up to the magnitude of the fraud. They will recognize they are working long hours (or two jobs) and make less working than I make in retirement. Yet every month, they transfer money to me to pay for my health benefits. I have plans for that also. When they start to blow the whistle, I will say with shock and horror, "You can't start an intergenerational war." I will tell them about how hard I fought for this country (six months in active service — most of it at the officers' club bar). I will shame them by accusing them of breaking the "generational contract," neatly covering the fact

"My generation are master embezzlers."

that it was really my generation who "broke" the contract by leaving them an unsustainable and insolvent system. Like any successful crook, I will cover all my bases.

When health care costs became a larger factor in our budgets, we found a system to subsidize our health care costs at the expense of following generations. We called it Medicare. The average senior who turned 65 in 2000 got back four dollars from today's workers for every one dollar that he/she paid into the system. Today's retiree receives on the average a $100,000 subsidy toward his health care costs — from a system that is slated to go broke not far into this century. I am looking forward to playing golf and living high and sending much of the bill to today's workers who make less working full-time than I make in retirement. *Après moi, le déluge.*

The story does not end there. My generation screwed up the savings and loan industry. What did we do to get out of it? We issued thirty-year bonds! Why should I pay for my mistakes when there is a gullible generation right behind me? Will I be here in 30 years? No. Will you? I leave it to my kids to pay off.

My wife and I bought our first house in 1963 for $11,900. Our first mortgage payments were forty-nine dollars a month because we had a VA loan subsidized by the federal government. Everyone in my generation could buy his or her own home. It is estimated that 30 percent of the current workers below age 30 will never be able to own their own houses. It does not end there. I, to this day, get more money in housing allowance every year from the federal government than the poorest American. It is simple. I get to deduct my mortgage interest and real estate taxes, which is worth to someone in my income bracket more than the case equivalent that any poor person in this state receives for housing. Ditto health benefits. By not taxing my health insurance paid for by my employer, I also receive more health benefits from the federal government than most poor children on Medicaid.

Do I feel guilty? Well, occasionally. The other night I was standing in the line for movies, getting a senior citizen discount. The struggling young couple in front of me were wondering how they were going to pay the babysitter. My wife and I had driven to the theater in our fancy foreign car from our debt-free house, but we got a six-dollar discount from the price the young couple paid.

I try not to spend too much time thinking about it. I keep busy. Right now, I have to go down to the state legislature to lobby for free fishing licenses for seniors. Why not? We already get free state park admission. See you around. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What If It Were Your Mother?

What health care would you ask for?

by Richard D. Lamm

Let me answer for myself, up front, one of the most commonly asked questions in health care. What health care would you deny if it were your mother? My answer is the almost universal answer: Deny her nothing, I want her to have everything! Of course, we all would do everything to save a loved one.

But you cannot build a health care system, or any public system, a mother at a time. This is an unfair and unrealistic standard to hold public policy to. I would also want to locate a police station near my mother's home, and I would wish to double her Social Security check, and I want a flood light in her backyard, and an emergency response system in every room. And I would hope not to pay for any of it. But applied to all of our mothers, that road leads to national bankruptcy.

My wife had breast cancer with substantial lymph node involvement. I was frantic and did whatever it took to get her the best treatment. Thankfully, she recovered, but having a loved one with a critical health problem must be one of Dante's versions of hell. I would have spent any amount of money to buy even a marginal increase in survivability. But we all have mothers, and most of us have spouses and children: Can we all maximize their health on pooled money?

The "mother's test" is a good yardstick for your own money but not a sustainable yardstick for a health however heart felt. Every health plan must look dispassionately and intelligently at what is and what is not to be funded. They must set rules and parameters that apply to all their members equally: Mothers cannot be exempted. If some medical procedure is futile, or inappropriate, or has only a slight chance of succeeding, those procedures can legally and morally be excluded from coverage for all the membership. We can neither give mothers a different standard of care, nor can we bring up the standard of care for all subscribers to the "what if it were your mother" standard.

We are all free to provide our mothers extra safety, income, housing, clothes, but we cannot use either a health plan or government money to do so. When we pool funds, as we do with taxpayer monies or health premiums, we have to set and live by rational distribution rules. No commonly collected pool of funds (taxes or premiums) can maximize all beneficial care to all stakeholders. This is a reality that must be understood by both citizens and doctors.

American doctors were trained in a culture that maximizes everything in health care. As Hafdan Mahler, former head of the World Health Organization, noted: "Everywhere, it appears, health workers consider that the 'best' health care is one where everything known to medicine is applied to every individuals by the highest trained medical scientist in the most specialized institutions."

It goes without saying that this is an unsustainable yardstick. The price of doing something with commonly collected funds is always that we cannot do everything. The price of joint action is limits.

Both Medicare and health plans owe a duty to their policyholders, including our mothers, but not only our mothers. We cannot pay limited premiums and limited taxes and

---

Richard D. Lamm, *former governor of Colorado, is director of the Center for Public Policy, University of Denver. This viewpoint is from* Healthplan, *July/August 2001.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

receive unlimited care. We cannot make our fondest hopes and dreams the common denominator for demands on common resources. We are entitled to our equitable share and no more.

The good news about modern health care is that we can expect a lot, the bad news is that we cannot expect everything.

But as one commentator said so well: "The central problem of American politics (is) the inability of the electorate to deal with the hard reality we all had to learn as small children: that some of something usually means less of something else....Our refusal to acknowledge that trade-offs are necessary ... makes intelligent debate about ... trade-offs impossible."

If you seek universal health care you must fight a two-front war. You must persuade the selfish and uncaring that we all have certain duties to our neighbors and you must show the altruists that some limits must be set if we are to have a financially sound system. The price of compassionate coverage is restriction of benefits. Strange but true.

I was told by a wise person when I was 19 that "maturity is a recognition of our limitations." A mature nation must recognize that no health plan and no nation can meet the mother test. ■

Death: Right or Duty?

'Ethical' medicine vs unethical health care policy

by Richard D. Lamm

Too often, the limits of our language are the limits of our thinking. "If thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought," warned George Orwell. How we label something too often controls how we think about it. We get particular concepts in our head and they are hard to change. They govern how we think and how we act. "Disease" and "death" used to be considered as "God's will," and it took hundreds of years and no small number of martyrs to get that corrected. It was very hard to develop modern medicine when so many subjects were thought of as outside of human control. Similarly, the number of children a woman had was thought to be "God's will," and that has made the development of contraception controversial to this day. Human control over any part of human destiny is usually opposed vigorously. Humankind has the tendency to confuse the familiar with the necessary.

Science finally overcame (mostly) such concepts, however sincerely held. Medicine has developed ever more inventive (and expensive) things we can do to the body as it ages and approaches death. Now, language limits us in a different way. Today, we have so changed the concept of death that we talk about the "right to die" almost as if death were an option. "Right to die" is a useful term in some contexts, but it has completely reversed the concept of death from "God's will" to a matter within our individual control. Too many Americans think themselves "entitled" to all healthcare no matter how marginal, and will spend unlimited insurance or government money on long- shot attempts to delay death. We have gone from superstition to hubris.

This has its own trap. Death is not an option. Shakespeare said it so well, "We all owe God a death." Humanity has a hard time

---

***Richard D. Lamm**, former governor of Colorado, currently directs the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver.* *This essay is reprinted from the* Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics, *(1997), 6, 111-112.* *© 1997, Cambridge University Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

putting death in perspective. Over the history of humankind, we have been alternatively paralyzed or dismissive. Both concepts of death are wrong and cause substantial harm. We are not helpless in the face of death – there are a myriad of things we can do to postpone death. Likewise, death is not an option. Thinking of death as a "right" to be exercised misallocates tens of billions of dollars a year. America spends 30 percent of its health dollar on the sickest 1 percent of the population, 55 percent on the sickest 5 percent. This "concentration of expenditures" is far above spending patterns in all other developed countries. Insulated against the costs and petrified by the results, a culture that considers death the enemy spends more and more on less and less.

"Money desperately needed elsewhere in society is being spent on marginal and low benefit medicine..."

We do not have a "right to die." Human beings are mortal. Death is neither a right nor an option. Yet, there is a public policy tragedy in our misconception. Money desperately needed elsewhere in society is being spent on marginal and low benefit medicine throughout the system, but particularly on the dying process. No other society would take a 90-year-old with congestive heart disease or terminal cancer out of a nursing home and put him into an intensive care unit. My wife and I were recently at the bedside of a 93-year-old man with three fatal diseases (metastatic cancer of the prostrate, end-stage kidney failure, and he had just been brought into the intensive care unit with a serious stroke). Massive resources were being poured into this gentleman, while blocks away people were going without primary care and kids were going without vaccinations.

Ten percent of U.S. hospital beds are ICU beds, while the rest of the developed world uses 3 percent of their hospital beds as ICU beds. What do we get for our extra intensive care beds? Expensive deaths. There is no evidence we save more critically ill people than other societies. We have failed to develop policies that rationally limit the use of intensive care beds to those who truly benefit. An ICU bed was designed for a realistic salvage attempt, not end-stage care.

Proust observed, "The real voyage of discovery lies not in seeking new lands, but in seeing with new eyes." So also, we must see with new eyes. Everything we do in healthcare prevents us from doing something else. We live in a new world of tradeoffs, but without either the ethical standards or yardsticks to decide those tradeoffs.

I would suggest the sum total of all "ethical" medicine, as now defined, is unethical health policy. The hubris in thinking that medicine can deliver to an aging society all the "beneficial" medicine its inventiveness has developed is misplaced. We are spending too much money on the last generation at the expense of the next generation. As one author observes:

> *Modern men and women of medicine now have the capability to spend unlimited resources in heroic and sometimes vain attempts to extend life ... Such changes pose a serious dilemma to society. A dilemma so new that neither our social, legal and religious institutions, nor our healthcare providers or consumers have developed a satisfactory means of coping.*[1]

It is imperative we begin this dialogue. My generation's bodies are developing ailments and chronic conditions faster than our economy can fund the treatments. We have run smack into the "law of diminishing returns." Modern medicine has presented us with a Faustian bargain: our aging bodies can bankrupt our children and grandchildren. Healthcare is important, but it cannot trump every other societal need. We could begin this dialogue by thinking clearly about death and its costs. ■

NOTE

1. Graig LA. *Health of Nations: An International Perspective on U.S. Reform.* Wyatt Co. 1991.

E.O. WILSON: Drowning in information — starving for wisdom!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Good Neighbors, Bad Ancestors

by Richard D. Lamm

I graduated from high school in 1953, and I inherited from my parents a small federal debt and the world's largest creditor nation. I am leaving my children a staggering federal debt and the world's largest debtor nation.

I inherited an exporting nation with a high saving rate, and I'm leaving my children an importing nation with the industrial world's lowest saving rate. I inherited a nation that produced more than it consumed, and I'm leaving my kids a nation that consumes more than it produces.

There was every reason for my parents to borrow money: they were fighting a depression and Hitler. There was no reason for my generation to borrow money (i.e., to pre-spend my kids' money), yet we have left an albatross of debt on the backs of the next generation the magnitude of which few understand.

The ghost of Juan Peron haunts the dreams of every late-twentieth-century politician, urging us to buy present popularity at the expense of the future. "Borrow from tomorrow to spend today," it whispers. "You will be long gone when the bills arrive."Peron got away with it for years, but ultimately he bankrupted Argentina.

Do we risk a similar fate? Lately, if politicians don't follow this road to political popularity, some other politician will. We have built a system without brakes that relentlessly pre-spends our children's money. It's the public policy equivalent to binge shopping on a credit card; the gratification is so immediate and so tangible, the price deferred.

Successful democracy, in the long run, requires some allegiance to and respect for the future. In the short run, modern public financing gives public policy-makers incredible opportunities to encumber the future for present political gain.

1. My generation of politicians has relentlessly and quietly encumbered the nation's future's earnings. Compare the federal debt to our gross domestic product in the chart.

In times of great prosperity we have quietly increased the debt as a percentage of the GDP. And every year we dramatically understate the yearly deficit by offsetting the real deficit with money borrowed from some 150 federal trust funds (such as the Social Security Trust Fund). The total of the published annual deficits for the ten years of the nineties is approximately $1 trillion, but the actual federal debt has increased over $4 trillion. In other words, the yearly deficit is not the real amount we add to the debt for that year; it is considerably understated. My generation has not been honest with the public.

Year	Federal Debt	G D P
1981	$1 trillion	$3 trillion
1986	$2 trillion	$4 trillion
1992	$4 trillion	$6 trillion
1997	$5.4 trillion	$7 trillion
2003	$6.5 trillion	$11 trillion

2. We have dramatically understated the total federal debt. The total amount of federal debt, which we say we are leaving the future generation, is close to $6.5 trillion, but that in no way represents the cost of government services, which my generation

---

Richard D. Lamm *is the former Governor of Colorado, currently executive director of the School of Public Policy at the University of Denver.* *This is an excerpt from* The Brave New World of Health Care *(Fulcrum Publishing,* *© 2003) and is reprinted by permission from* The Harvard Crimson, Inc., *4 December 1997. All rights reserved.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enjoyed but leave to the following generation to pay off.

We have to honestly compute the true "costs of the future" starting with the "unfounded liabilities," which I argue make the real federal debt that our children will have to pay off for services enjoyed by my generation far closer to $20 trillion. Military retirement, federal civil service retirement, and Social Security payments are all owed for which no (or inadequate) money has been set aside. There is a whole category of government services that we enjoyed, but we left our kids the bill to pay. Fiscal fraud, clearly.

3. We have also told the public that the Social Security Trust Fund was an asset, but it is not; there is nothing there that will help future taxpayers pay off future Social Security payments. The trust fund owns nothing but U.S. government bonds that our kids will have to raise the money to pay. Future taxpayers will thus inherit a large amount of federal government bonds that they will have to pay themselves. We don't even pay the interest on those bonds but, instead, pay the interest by selling additional federal bonds that they will also have to pay.

If we would have bought bonds or stocks of another country, there would be value in the fund, for the debt would be on their taxpayers. But we bought U.S. government bonds and essentially added this debt to the national credit card. We have been "credit card liberals;" there has been no program that we didn't consider worthy of funding and then putting on the national credit card. We knew what we wanted, but not what we could afford. We have enriched our own political careers by voting for myriad programs that we couldn't pay for. We get the political benefit; the future gets the bill. Great deal for me, terrible deal for public policy, and a tragic legacy to leave to our children.

One of the great issues of the future will be "intergenerational equity" when the younger generations start to recognize what we have done to them. My generation lived in the afterglow of the New Deal. We misread Keynes and thought that borrowing, because it worked in the thirties and forties, could continue forever. But we found that debt is economic cocaine; it is very hard to stop borrowing once you start. Every generation should pay for the government services it uses. Robert Louis Stevenson said, "Sooner or later, we all sit down to a banquet of consequences." True, except my generation of politicians will not be sitting there when the bills become due. We have been good neighbors but bad ancestors. ■

AS AN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT, I WAS ALLOWED TO APPLY FOR TEMPORARY WORK STATUS IN THE U.S....
IMMIGRATION REFORM PLAN
I GOT A JOB AT A FACTORY.
AFTER 3 YEARS, I MOVED BACK TO MY COUNTRY, WHERE I GOT A JOB...
HELP WANTED
AT THE SAME FACTORY WHEN IT MOVED THERE FOR CHEAPER LABOR!
GARY MARKSTEIN

GARY MARKSTEIN, © 2004, Copley News Service. Used by permission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Immigration: Ultimate Environmental Issue

by Richard D. Lamm

I believe that environmental organizations have ducked the immigration/population issue too long, which is why I ran recently for a position on the Board of the Sierra Club to try and correct that. One of the most important challenges of public policy is to recognize when an old world is obsolete and a new one in place. If I could leave anything carved on the Colorado state capitol after my twelve years in office, it would be something like "Beware of solutions appropriate to the past, but disastrous to the future." It is easy to talk about yesterday's issues but the real policy challenges involve tomorrow's issues. To mix my metaphors, too often we steer the Ship of State by looking in the rear view mirror.

A new, important, pressing environmental question faces America: What is our demographic destiny? How big a country do we want to become? How many people can live satisfied lives within our borders? These issues will not go away and will only grow more complicated. Environmental organizations *must* add population and immigration to their list of issues and concerns. It is environmental malpractice not to.

Our natural American birth rate will lead to a stable population around 2050, with the current level of immigration our population will be approximately 500 million on its way to a billion. Which makes sense to you? I have yet to meet an American who wants one billion neighbors. Or 500 million! This is not as issue of immigrants, but of immigration. What possible public policy advantage would there be to an America of 500 million? Do we lack for people? Do we have too much open space, parkland, and recreation? What will 500 million Americans mean to our environment? Do we need a larger military? Are our schools unpopulated? Do we not have enough diversity? Will you live better lives if your city and state double in size? These questions seem to answer themselves.

People must recognize that in the long term the growth issue in America is the immigration issue. We have a chance to stabilize America's population or double it and double it again, and the key driver is immigration. If we continue with our present policy of mass immigration (America takes twice as many immigrants as the rest of the world combined) we will continue to grow and grow and grow. The geometry is relentless.

The first census in 1790 found four million Europeans in America. Two hundred years later (1990) we had approximately 260 million Americans. That means we had six doublings of the original European population (4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256). Please note that two more doublings (we have already had 5 in our short 200 years) gives us over a billion people sharing America. Have you ever been to India or China? Is that what you want to leave to your grandchildren? Or perhaps more appropriately: Can you imagine an America of one *billion* people that you would want to leave to your grandchildren?

Of course immigration has been good for America and yes, we are all immigrants. But is that the extent and depth of the argument? Population compounds every environmental issue we face. Do you love the outdoors? What will be the impact on your children and grandchildren if we grow to half a billion (then a billion) consuming Americans? What are we doing to our children and grandchildren? Where will they be able to hike and climb? Where will they draw their inspiration when America is paved, polluted, and over-populated? Sprawl and growth? Colorado is being flooded by Californians who move here because they don't like what's happening in California.

There are approximately five billion people in the world who live below the American poverty level and

***Richard D. Lamm**, former governor of Colorado, currently directs the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

polls show literally billions of them want to come to America. Immigration is no longer a solution to the problems of the world. I would argue that the best gift the U.S. could give to the world would be to develop a sustainable, equitable, environmentally benign nation which could serve as an example of sustainability to the world.

Bottom line: Ask yourself what problem in America will be made better by continuing to add massive numbers of people? America before immigration "reform" averaged approximately 250,000 immigrants a year. If we would return to those historic numbers, we would take a great step toward leaving our children a sustainable America.

My candidacy, and the candidacy of some other people who I have never met, never talked to, and never heard of, caused consternation among some Sierra Club old-timers. For the record: I am not an animal rights activist, but rather a hunter and fisherman who goes fishing in Alaska on a regular basis. To those who charge that anyone interested in immigration limits is a racist let me say I organized the NAACP at the University of California and served as its first Vice President. My first job out of law school was for the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, and I have received numerous brotherhood awards. When we had no money, we paid for my wife to go to Selma for the Civil Rights March to show our support. Enough said.

It is time for a new vision for America and for the environment. We have to move toward sustainability and that means addressing the twin questions of consumption and population. The Sierra Club can no longer afford to run away from this issue. When the Statute of Liberty was erected we were a relatively empty continent in an uncrowded world. Now four billion people live below the U.S. welfare level (with 75 million more added each year) and dream of coming to America. How many can and should we accept? The problem will not go away by avoiding the issue. The world's eco-system does not need 300 million more consuming Americans, nor do we. Immigration has gone from a solution to a problem, and the sooner the public and the Sierra Club recognize this the better America we will leave our children and grandchildren. ■

I Have a Plan to Destroy America

And many parts of it are underway

by Richard D. Lamm

I have a secret plan to destroy America. If you believe, as many do, that America is too smug, too white bread, too self-satisfied, too rich, lets destroy America. It is not that hard to do. History shows that nations are more fragile than their citizens think. No nation in history has survived the ravages of time. Arnold Toynbee observed that all great civilizations rise and they all fall, and that "An autopsy of history would show that all great nations commit suicide." Here is my plan:

I. We must first make America a bilingual- bicultural country. History shows, in my opinion, that no nation can survive the tension, conflict, and antagonism of two competing languages and cultures. It is a blessing for an individual to be bilingual; it is a curse for a society to be bilingual. One scholar, Seymour Martin Lipset, put it this way: The histories of bilingual and bicultural societies that do not assimilate are histories of turmoil, tension, and tragedy. Canada, Belgium,

---

Richard D. Lamm, former governor of Colorado, currently directs the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver. He gave this brief talk at a meeting of the board of directors of FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, October 2003.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Malaysia, Lebanon – all face crises of national existence in which minorities press for autonomy, if not independence. Pakistan and Cyprus have divided. Nigeria suppressed an ethnic rebellion. France faces difficulties with its Basques, Bretons, and Corsicans.

"We can make the U.S. a 'Hispanic Quebec' without much effort."

II. I would then invent "multiculturalism" and encourage immigrants to maintain their own culture. I would make it an article of belief that all cultures are equal: that there are no cultural differences that are important. I would declare it an article of faith that the Black and Hispanic dropout rate is only due to prejudice and discrimination by the majority. Every other explanation is out-of-bounds.

III. We can make the United States a "Hispanic Quebec" without much effort. The key is to celebrate diversity rather than unity. As Benjamin Schwarz said in the *Atlantic Monthly* recently: "...the apparent success of our own multiethnic and multicultural experiment might have been achieved not by tolerance but by hegemony." Without the dominance that once dictated ethnocentrically, and what it meant to be an American, we are left with only tolerance and pluralism to hold us together. I would encourage all immigrants to keep their own language and culture. I would replace the melting pot metaphor with a salad bowl metaphor. It is important to insure that we have various cultural sub-groups living in America reinforcing their differences rather than as Americans, emphasizing their similarities.

IV. Having done all this, I would make our fastest growing demographic group the least educated – I would add a second underclass, unassimilated, undereducated, and antagonistic to our population. I would have this second underclass have a 50 percent drop out rate from school.

V. I would then get the big foundations and big business to give these efforts lots of money. I would invest in ethnic identity, and I would establish the cult of Victimology. I would get all minorities to think their lack of success was all the fault of the majority – I would start a grievance industry blaming all minority failure on the majority population.

VI. I would establish dual citizenship and promote divided loyalties. I would "celebrate diversity." "Diversity" is a wonderfully seductive word. It stresses differences rather than commonalities. Diverse people worldwide are mostly engaged in hating each other – that is, when they are not killing each other. A diverse," peaceful, or stable society is against most historical precedent. People undervalue the unity it takes to keep a nation together, and we can take advantage of this myopia. Look at the ancient Greeks. Dorf's World History tells us: "The Greeks believed that they belonged to the same race; they possessed a common language and literature; and they worshiped the same gods. All Greece took part in the Olympic games in honor of Zeus and all Greeks venerated the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. A common enemy Persia threatened their liberty. Yet, all of these bonds together were not strong enough to overcome two factors..." (local patriotism and geographical conditions that nurtured political divisions...). If we can put the emphasis on the "Pluribus," instead of the "Unum," we can balkanize America as surely as Kosovo.

VII. Then I would place all these subjects off limits – make it taboo to talk about. I would find a word similar to "heretic" in the 16th century – a word that stops discussion and paralyzes thinking – a word like "racist" or "xenophobe" that halts argument and conversation. Having made America a bilingual-bicultural country, having established multiculturalism, having the large foundations fund the doctrine of "victimology," I would next make it impossible to enforce our immigration laws. I would develop a mantra – "that because immigration has been good for America, it must always be good." I would make every individual immigrant sympatric and ignore the cumulative impact.

VIII. Lastly, I would censor Victor Hanson Davis's book, *Mexifornia*. This book is dangerous – it exposes my plan to destroy America. So please, please – if you feel that America deserves to be destroyed – please, please, don't buy this book! This guy is on to my plan. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peace 2010

A look backward from the future

by Richard D. Lamm

[*Richard Lamm wrote a prize winning essay for the "Peace 2010" contest sponsored by* The Christian Science Monitor *in 1995. The invitation was to write an essay from the point of view of someone in the year 2010 telling how peace had been established among the nations of the world. Lamm pretended his essay was an excerpt from a book entitled* A History of the Twentieth Century *written by someone named Cornelius Barnes.*]

"Against our will comes wisdom."
– Aeschylus

"When we released the energy from the atom, everything changed except our way of thinking. Because of that, we drift toward unparalleled disaster. We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive." – Albert Einstein

Albert Einstein's prophetic words foreshadowed The Time of Peace: 1994 was the year of the ultimate war and the year that a lasting peace finally arrived on earth.

History shows periods of peace to be the exception rather than the rule. Since the dawn of history, neighbor has fought neighbor; tribe has fought tribe; religion has fought religion; nation has fought nation. The history of man is partially written in blood: construction giving way to destruction; peace and stability turning into war and chaos. Wars have been as inevitable to history as storms are to weather.

Violence and terrorism increased dramatically as the 20th century, already history's most destructive century, lurched to a close. In the 1970s and 1980s, violence seemed to reach a crescendo. By the late 1980s, Russia and the United States both instituted "launch on warning" nuclear systems. A myriad of local wars, revolutions, incidents of religious and sectarian strife, terrorism, and random acts of violence were made even more frightening by the rapid growth of the nuclear club. Peace was a stranger. Man seemed to have lost his capacity for shock, inundated as he was – wherever he lived – by daily news bulletins and TV reports of wars, terrorism, and violence.

One American wit, Woody Allen, seemed to sum up the dilemma: "More than any other time in history, mankind faces the crossroads ...one path leads to despair and utter hopelessness, the other to total extinction. I pray we have the wisdom to choose wisely."

The flash point came, with history's usual irony, in the least expected place. Although India and Pakistan had fought three wars (1947, 1965, and 1971), an uneasy truce had existed between them. Despite their legacy of hate and distrust, no significant increase in tensions is known to have preceded the devastating nuclear exchange. None of history's usual causations seemed to trigger the conflagration: no jihad, no territorial dispute, no recent reason for revenge. History's most bloody war was apparently caused by some minor miscalculation. Like the War of Jenkins' Ear, the cause, while lost in the radiated ashes, was so insignificant as to conjure up Hannah Arendt's phrase, "the banality of evil." No international threat or declaration from either country harbingered the holocaust. It just happened.

The morning of November 29, 1994, dawned clear and cool over the Indian subcontinent. The harvests had been sparse, but adequate. The border between India and Pakistan, long filled with minor incidents, had been exceptionally quiet.

Granted, the religious differences were as strong as ever, but no known incident or aggravation was present. November 29th was so like so many similar days – alive with pungent smells, buzzing women on the way to market, mischievous children, men

Richard D. Lamm, *former governor of Colorado, currently directs the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sweating in the fields. True, the Hindus worshiped a myriad of gods, while the Muslims worshiped one. The Muslims eschewed pork and were quiet in their worship, while the Hindus proscribed beef and had music in their worship. Both shared a legacy of religious strife and conflict that defied even a peacemaker such as Gandhi and resulted in the partition of a continent. But nothing in the mind or imagination of man could have justified or explained a spasm of hate equal to "The Great Annihilation."

"Events soon passed beyond all human control. The 'Guns of August' became the 'Missiles of November.'"

Simply put, one moment tens of millions of people were going about their daily routines and the next moment they were ashes. For historical accuracy, it must be pointed out that satellite pictures confirm that India was attacked first, but American satellites monitoring radio traffic over the Indian subcontinent recorded that the Indians had a sudden, unmanageable fear that the Pakistanis had mobilized and were prepared to launch their recently acquired, supposedly obsolete, American-purchased cruise missiles. So India sent its rockets, just purchased from Russia, on a preemptive strike. Analysts later agreed that there must have been a computer failure in New Delhi. But in the end, it is impossible to assign "blame," even the concept seems irrelevant to the horror that followed.

What is important to note is the unpredictability of events and how easily one minor event led to another, with increasing speed and significance, until a human chain reaction caused a nuclear chain reaction. The 20th century had seen a world of isolated, independent events become an inter-dependent global village. Just as an assassination in Sarajevo started a chain of events, one following inevitably after another, it is likely that on the Indian subcontinent some slight error led to an insult; an insult to an incident; an incident to an outrage, and an outrage to a holocaust. Events soon passed beyond all human control. The "Guns of August" became the "Missiles of November."

"If the iron dice must roll, may God help us," anguished Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg on August 1, 1914. Eighty years later the nuclear dice rolled – on a scale that eclipsed even the destruction of two world wars. But the rolling dice did something else more important: it made absurd such concepts as "winners" or "losers" in modern warfare. President Dole, in her characteristic way, put it succinctly: "Winning a nuclear war is like saying, 'Your end of the boat is sinking!'"

The total devastation of modern weapons is seen in the absence of reports from either Pakistan or India. Few were left to carry the word. The first news came from U.S. and Russian satellites that reported a nuclear exchange involving at least 20 detonations. There were no "stop the presses" telegrams from Sarajevo, no cacophony of reports from Pearl Harbor. The first sound of this war was silence – chilling, eerie silence.

When reports did come, they were of "multiple blinding flashes seen to the northwest," as radioed from Colombo, Sri Links. A radio operator in Mangalore, India, reported "large mushroom clouds rising from Bangalore and Madras." Seismic recorders around the world registered multiple shocks in both India and Pakistan.

If one could pinpoint the beginning of The Time of Peace, it would be December 1, 1994, when the first television reports burst upon a world that had thought itself beyond shock. The initial images were pictures taken from the air by American network news organizations in leased airplanes hurriedly flown to India from Sri Lanka and Thailand. The first images were sweeping panoramas of a moonlike landscape. Nothing stood but charred rubble. News reports repeated Robert Oppenheimer's observation at the first successful atomic test five decades earlier, when he recalled the Bhagavad-Gita: "I have become

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Death/Destroyer of Worlds!" Here was a world destroyed.

In those moments – with a horrified world glued to its television sets in homes or in windows of stores with TV sets – came the horror of modern weapons: craters where cities once stood; a myriad of people struck blind whose only mistake had been to look at the fireball. Into every world capital, country, town village, barrio, ghetto, fravello, and most huts, the universality of suffering was dramatically played out before shocked eyes. Nuclear war, like Medusa, consumed all who looked it in the face.

Thus wisdom came not through treaty but through tragedy. The goal of peace was no longer something left to politicians, but became the demand of every citizen. If "war was too important to be left to generals," in Clemenceau's famous phrase, peace became a groundswell that swept over politicians and nationalities. The demonic horror of the Indian subcontinent brought home to everyone the universality, not of brotherhood, but of the vulnerability of man. Man looked into the abyss and he was horrified beyond words. No religious or national goals could justify destruction and desolation on this scale. War was mutual suicide. The message went not only to the head but to the heart. As Aeschylus had said:

Even in our sleep
Pain that we cannot forget
Falls drop by drop upon
the heart
Until in our own despair
Against our will
Comes wisdom
Through the awful grace
of God.

One is cynically tempted to cite Tacitus: "When they made a desert, they called it Peace." The aphorism would seem appropriate if restricted to the survivors of India and Pakistan. Those two countries were left with a desert, their people too exhausted and traumatized to fight. They could only suffer. Hundreds of millions of refugees in both countries rushed to escape the fallout. Survival was determined by the caprice of the winds.

But this "desert" aphorism misses the symbolic value of the horror. It ignores the vividness of the pictures sent around the world. Unlike Carthage, whose destruction was witnessed by few, The Great Annihilation was witnessed by all. Grim pictures of the widespread suffering were transmitted to the end of the globe. Children died who were guilty of no sins save those of their fathers. The whole world could clearly see that in a nuclear war, the survivors would envy the dead. In a thousand languages and dialects, people of different faiths recognized, "There but for the grace of God, go I."

As if to drive the point home came The Years Without Summer. The nuclear explosions and resulting fires put large quantities of fine dust and soot into the atmosphere and changed the climate of the entire Northern Hemisphere. Actually, everyone outside the Indian subcontinent was fortunate, even though all suffered through three successive summers that were 10 to 15 degrees below normal, with resulting crop losses that were barely overcome by emptying America's gigantic grain storage bins. But if it had been 50 bombs instead of 20, the "nuclear winter" would have destroyed all life on earth.

Tests showed that in addition, the atmosphere's ozone, which shields man from the carcinogenic ultraviolet radiation, had been permanently damaged. Man learned unequivocally that a depletion in the stratospheric ozone by nuclear explosions would dangerously increase solar ultraviolet radiation. Nuclear war was hydra-headed: first the catastrophe of the blast; then the devastation of the fallout; then the climatic disaster of a nuclear winter; and finally, after the soot and dust had settled out, the continuing curse of ultraviolet radiation.

No formal arms control agreement followed the holocaust. Politicians continued to find barriers to treaties. As always, technical problems and difficulties of ensuring compliance were solemnly cited. But peace is neither the absence of war nor the presence of a disarmament agreement. Peace is a change of heart. Both the USSR and the U.S. simply stopped building new weapons and missiles. These were not weapons but suicide devices. Man had at last invented a doomsday machine.

The revulsion came in many

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forms and in many languages. The nations of the world clearly shared too small a star to allow this to happen again. Peace was not negotiated: it burst on a stunned mankind. Multiple Messiahs preached the common theme of Peace on Earth. "Blessed are the peacemakers," urged Christian ministers, "Never in the world can hatred be stilled by hatred; it will be stilled only by non-hatred – this is the law eternal," quoted the followers of Buddha. A religious leader from China, quoting an old Vietnamese proverb, "If we take vengeance on vengeance, vengeance will never end" gained millions of converts. The ancient simple truths of love and charity were reinforced by the terror of example.

In the words of Shelley:

Most wretched men
Are cradled into poetry
by wrong,
They learn in suffering what
they teach in song.

A tidal wave of peace swept the world.

Other factors supplemented the change of heart. Both the U.S. and Russia were increasingly frustrated by the pouring of resources into the arms race. Each had to match the other, but the cost was high. Both had built the 21st-century equivalent of the Maginot Line: an awesomely expensive but unusable defense system. This system gave little military security, and that at the expense of economic security. Both nations suffered domestically because of the resources put into arms. Both had lost the economic race while struggling to win the arms race.

By 1994, the U.S. was allocating 40 percent of its scientists and 9 percent of its gross national product to the military. Its previous role as world economic leader was suffering severely. Once having had the highest per capita income, by 1994 it was down to seventh in per capita income. Once the world-leading exporter, it had become the world's leading importer, with a devastating negative balance of trade. Once the financier of the world, since 1987 it had been a debtor nation. America was an economic giant crippled by the costs of defense and an economy that had lost its magic.

The Soviet Union was similarly beset. Its expensive nuclear arsenal was no help for its real problems. The Russian Bear was beset by multiple problems: a billion Chinese on one border who hated Soviets; an unwinnable war in Afghanistan; a military machine that drained 20 percent of its gross national product; restive national minorities and rebellious satellites; a history of bad harvests, and the highest alcoholism rate in the world.

Like two clumsy, muscle-bound fighters eyeing each other suspiciously, the two superpowers added useless missile upon useless missile while other sectors of their economies suffered and while living standards started to decline. The peace process, once started, also became an economic issue. The wisdom came because the cost of war in economic as well as human terms became manifest.

One additional result completes the picture: the "Adopt a Refugee" program. So many children were orphaned, so many needed extraordinary medical care that the developed world agreed to take in these children for treatment and adoption. The one international conference that did succeed was the "Save the Children" conference, organized by Switzerland. At that conference, Russia made a dramatic announcement that it would accept the same number of children that the U.S. did. All nations took in some of the injured, and as these children spread across the world, they served as a grim reminder of the human costs of breaking the peace.

John Locke observed, "Hell is truth seen too late." In our time, peace was hell seen just in time. Peace came not from the efforts of the actors on the world stage who had failed so often, but through a preview of coming events.

The front line of nuclear war was everyman's backyard. It was neither idealism nor love of mankind that brought peace, but the reality therapy of war. It was not the abstract odds of war, but the recognition of the devastating stakes. Man looked into the abyss and saw an irradiated hell and recoiled in horror. Both heads and hearts came to realize that war was mutual suicide that would destroy not only nations but the species.

The cost was high, but in the end, reality was the only effective teacher. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Moral Code for a Finite World

by Herschel Elliott and Richard D. Lamm

What if global warming is a reality, and expanding human activity is causing irreparable harm to the ecosystem? What if the demands of a growing human population and an expanding global economy are causing our oceans to warm up, our ice caps to melt, our supply of edible fish to decrease, our rain forests to disappear, our coral reefs to die, our soils to be eroded, our air and water to be polluted, and our weather to include a growing number of floods and droughts? What if is sheer hubris to believe that our species can grow without limits? What if the finite nature of the earth's resources imposes limits on what human beings can morally do? What if our present moral code is ecologically unsustainable?

A widely cited article from the journal *Science* gives us one answer. Garrett Hardin's "The Tragedy of the Commons" (1968) demonstrated that when natural resources are held in common – freely available to everyone for the taking – the incentives that normally direct human activity lead people to steadily increase their exploitation of the resources until they are inadequate to meet human needs. The exploiters generally do not intend to cause any harm; they are merely taking care of their own needs, or those of others in want. Nevertheless, the entire system moves inexorably to disaster. Everyone in the world shares in the resulting tragedy of the commons.

Today, our standard of living, our economic system, and the political stability of our planet all require the increasing use of energy and natural resources. In addition, much of our political, economic, and social thinking assumes a continuous expansion of economic activity, with little or no restraint on our use of resources. We all feel entitled to grow richer every year. Social justice requires an expanding pie to share with those who are less fortunate. Progress is growth; the economies of developed nations require steady increases in consumption.

What if such a scenario is unsustainable? What if we need an ethics for a finite world, an ethics of the commons?

It is not important that you agree with the premise. What is important is that you help debate the alternatives. An ethics of the commons would require a change in the criteria by which moral claims are justified.

You may believe that current rates of population growth and economic expansion can go on forever – but debate with us what alternative ethical theories would arise if they cannot. Our thesis is that any ethical system is mistaken and immoral if its practice would cause an environmental collapse.

Many people assume that moral laws and principles are absolutely certain, that we can know the final moral truth. If moral knowledge is certain, then factual evidence is irrelevant, for it cannot limit or refute what is morally certain.

Out ethics and concepts of human rights have been formulated for a world of a priori reasoning and unchanging conclusions. Kant spoke for that absolutist ethical tradition when he argued that only knowledge that is absolutely certain can

---

Herschel Elliott *is an emeritus associate professor of philosophy at the University of Florida.* ***Richard D. Lamm,*** *a former governor of Colorado, is a professor at the University of Denver and executive director of its Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues.* *The essay is reprinted by permission from* The Chronicle of Higher Education, *November 15, 2002.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

justify the slavish obedience that moral law demands. He thought he had found rational grounds to justify the universal and unchanging character of moral law. Moral knowledge, he concluded, is a priori and certain. It tells us, for example, that murder, lying, and stealing are wrong. The fact that those acts may sometimes seem to benefit someone cannot diminish the absolute certainty that they are wrong. Thus, for example, it is a contradiction to state that murder can sometimes be right, for, by its very nature, murder is wrong.

Many human rights are positive rights that involve the exploitation of resources. (Negative rights restrain governments and don't require resources. For example, governments shouldn't restrict our freedom of speech or tell us how to pray.) Wherever in the world a child is born, that child has all the inherent human rights – including the right to have food, housing, and medical care, which others must provide. When positive rights are accorded equally to everyone, they first allow and then support constant growth, of both population and the exploitation of natural resources.

That leads to a pragmatic refutation of the belief that moral knowledge is certain and infallible. If a growing population faces a scarcity of resources, then an ethics of universal human rights with equality and justice for all will fail. Those who survive will inevitably live by a different ethics.

Once the resources necessary to satisfy all human needs become insufficient, our options will be bracketed by two extremes. One is to ration resources so that everyone may share the inadequate supplies equally and justly.

The other is to have people act like players in a game of musical chairs. In conditions of scarcity, there will be more people than chairs, so some people will be left standing when the music stops. Some – the self-sacrificing altruists – will refuse to take the food that others need, and so will perish. Others, however, will not play by the rules. Rejecting the ethics of a universal and unconditional moral law, they will fight to get the resources they and their children need to live.

Under neither extreme, nor all the options in between, does it make sense to analyze the problem through the lens of human rights. The flaw in an ethical system of universal human rights, unqualified moral obligations, and equal justice for all can be stated in its logically simplest form: If to try to live by those principles under conditions of scarcity causes it to be impossible to live at all, then the practice of that ethics will cease. Scarcity renders such formulations useless and ultimately causes such an ethics to become extinct.

We have described not a world that we want to see, but one that we fear might come to be. Humans cannot have a moral duty to deliver the impossible, or to supply something if the act of supplying it harms the ecosystem to the point where life on earth becomes unsustainable. Moral codes, no matter how logical and well reasoned, and human rights, no matter how compassionate, must make sense within the limitations of the ecosystem; we cannot disregard the factual consequences of our ethics. If acting morally compromises the ecosystem, then moral behavior must be rethought. Ethics cannot demand a level of resource use that the ecosystem cannot tolerate.

The consequences of human behavior change as the population grows. Most human activities have a point of moral reversal, before which they may cause great benefit and little harm, but after which they may cause so much harm as to overwhelm their benefits. Here are a few representative examples, the first of which is often cited when considering Garrett Hardin's work:

- In a nearly empty lifeboat, rescuing a drowning shipwreck victim causes benefit: It saves the life of the victim, and it adds another person to help manage the boat. But in a lifeboat loaded to the gunwales, rescuing another victim makes the boat sink and causes only harm: Everyone drowns.
- When the number of cars on a road is small, travel by private car is a great convenience to all. But as the cars multiply, a point of reversal occurs: The road now contains so many cars that such travel is inconvenient. The number of private cars may increase to the point where everyone comes to a halt. Thus, in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some conditions, car travel benefits all. In other conditions, car travel makes it impossible for anyone to move. It can also pump so much carbon monoxide into the atmosphere that it alters the world's climate.

• Economic growth can be beneficial when land, fuel, water, and other needed resources are abundant. But it becomes harmful when those resources become scarce, or even when exploitation causes ecological collapse. Every finite environment has a turning point, at which further economic growth would produce so much trash and pollution that it would change from producing benefit to causing harm. After that point is reached, additional growth only increases scarcity and decreases overall productivity. In conditions of scarcity, economic growth has a negative impact.

• Every environment is finite. Technology can extend but not eliminate limits. An acre of land can support only a few mature sugar maples; only so many radishes can grow in a five-foot row of dirt. Similar constraints operate in human affairs. When the population in any environment is small and natural resources plentiful, every additional person increases the welfare of all. As more and more people are added, they need increasingly to exploit the finite resources of the environment. At a certain point, the members of an increasing population become so crowded that they stop benefiting each other; by damaging the environment that supports everyone, by limiting the space available to each person, and by increasing the amount of waste and pollution, their activity begins to cause harm. That is, population growth changes from good to bad. And if the population continues to expand, its material demands may so severely damage the environment as to cause a tragedy of the commons – the collapse of both environment and society.

"...many activities are right – morally justified – when only a limited number of people do them. The same activities become wrong – immoral – when populations increase, and more and more resources are exploited."

Those cases illustrate the fact that many activities are right – morally justified – when only a limited number of people do them. The same activities become wrong – immoral – when populations increase, and more and more resources are exploited.

Few people seem to understand the nature of steady growth. Any rate of growth has a doubling time: the period of time it takes for a given quantity to double. It is a logical inevitability – not a matter subject to debate – that it takes only a relatively few doublings for even a small number to equal or exceed any finite quantity, even a large one.

One way to look at the impact of growth is to think of a resource that would last 100 years if people consumed it at a constant rate. If the rate of consumption increased five percent each year, the resource would last only 36 years. A supply adequate for 1,000 years at a constant rate would last 79 years at a five percent rate of growth; a 10,000-year supply would last only 125 years at the same rate. Just as no trees grow to the sky, no growth rate is ultimately sustainable.

Because the natural resources available for human use are finite, exponential growth will use them up in a relatively small number of doublings. The only possible questions are those of timing. When will the resources be too depleted to support the population? When will human society, which is now built on perpetual growth, fail?

The mathematics makes it clear: Any human activity that uses matter or energy must reach a steady state (or periodic cycle of boom and bust, which over the long run is the same thing). If not, it inevitably will cease to exist. The moral of the story is obvious: Any system of economics or ethics that requires or even allows steady growth in the exploitation of resources is designed to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

collapse. It is a recipe for disaster.

It is self-deception for anyone to believe that historical evidence contradicts mathematical necessity. The fact that the food supply since the time of Malthus has increased faster than the human population does not refute Malthus' general thesis: that an increasing population must, at some time, need more food, water, and other vital resources than the finite earth or creative technology can supply in perpetuity. In other words, the finitude of the earth makes it inevitable that any behavior causing growth in population or in the use of resources – including human moral, political, and economic behavior – will sooner or later be constrained by scarcity.

Unlike current ethics, the ethics of the commons builds on the assumption of impending scracity. Scarcity requires double-entry bookkeeping: Whenever someone gains goods or services that use matter or energy, someone else must lose matter or energy. If the starving people of a distant nation get food aid from the United States, then the United States loses that amount of food; it also loses the fertility of the soil that produced the food. To a point, that arrangement is appropriate and workable. Soon, however, helping one group of starving may well mean that we cannot help others. Everything that a government does prevents it from doing something else. When you have to balance a budget, you can yes to some important services only by saying no to others. Similarly, the ethics of the commons must rely on trade-offs, not rights. It must specify who or what gains, and who or what loses.

Indeed, in a finite world full of mutually dependent beings, you never can do just one thing. Every human activity that uses matter or energy pulls with it a tangled skein of unexpected consequences. Conditions of crowding and scarcity can cause moral acts to change from beneficial to harmful, or even disastrous; acts that once were moral become immoral. We must constantly assess the complex of consequences, intended or not, to see if the overall benefit of seemingly moral acts outweighs their overall harm.

As Hardin suggested, the collapse of any common resource can be avoided only by limiting its use. The ethics of the commons builds on this idea that the best and most humane way of avoiding the tragedy of the commons is mutual constraint, mutually agreed on and mutually enforced.

Most important, the ethics of the commons must prevent a downward spiral to scarcity. One of its first principles is that the human population much reach and maintain a stable state – a state in which population growth does not slowly but inexorably diminish the quality of, and even the prospect for, human life. Another principle is that human exploitation of natural resources must remain safely below the maximum levels that a healthy and resilient ecosystem can sustain. A third is the provision of a margin of safety that prevents natural disasters like storms, floods, droughts, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions from causing unsupportable scarcity.

Not to limit human behavior in accordance with those principles would be not only myopic, but also ultimately a moral failure. To let excess human fertility or excess demand for material goods and services cause a shortage of natural resources is as immoral as theft and murder, and for the same reasons.: They deprive others of their property, the fruits of their labors, their quality of life, or even their lives.

The ethics of the commons is a pragmatic ethics. It denies the illusion that human moral behavior occurs in a never-never land, where human rights and duties remain unchanging, and scarcity can never cancel moral duties. It does not allow a priori moral arguments to dictate behavior that must inevitably become extinct. It accepts the necessity of constraints on both production and reproduction. As we learn how best to protect the current and future health of the earth's ecosystems, the ethics of the commons can steadily make human life more worth living.

As populations increase and environments deteriorate, the moral laws that humans have relied on for so long can no longer solve the most pressing problems of the modern world. Human rights are an inadequate and inappropriate basis on which to distribute scarce resources, and we must propose and debate new ethical principles. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Two Magic Wands

by Richard D. Lamm

Let me offer you, metaphorically, two magic wands that have sweeping powers to change society. With one wand you could wipe out all racism and discrimination from the hearts and minds of white America. The other wand you could wave across the ghettoes and barrios of America and infuse the inhabitants with Japanese or Jewish values, respect for learning, and ambition. But, alas, you can't wave both wands. Only one.

Which would you choose? I understand that many of us would love to wave both wands; no one can easily refuse the chance to erase racism and discrimination. But I suggest that the best wand for society and for those who live in the ghettoes and barrios would be the second wand.

This metaphor is important in correctly diagnosing one of the most significant problems facing contemporary America: the large economic, education and employment gap between Black/Hispanic America and White/Asian America. The problems of crime, educational failure, drugs, gangs, teenage pregnancy, and unemployment that burden certain groups threaten our collective future. They form a nation-threatening social pathology that must be addressed in broader terms than we have done to date.

Most discussion of minority failure blames racism and discrimination. I'm an old civil rights lawyer and such racism and discrimination clearly still exists. But the problem, I fear, is deeper than the current dialogue. We need to think honestly about these problems with a new sophistication. One of these new areas is to recognize that increasingly scholars are saying "culture matters."

I'm impressed, for instance, that the highest family incomes in America are earned by minorities that have been discriminated against. Japanese Americans, Jews, Chinese Americans, and Korean Americans all out-earn white America by substantial margins and *all* have faced discrimination and racism. We put Japanese Americans in camps 60 years ago and confiscated much of their property. Yet today they out-earn all other demographic groups. Discrimination and racism are social cancers and can never be justified but it is enlightening that, for these groups, they were a hurdle, not a barrier to success.

The Italians, the Irish, the people from the Balkans – America has viewed all these groups and many more with hostility and suspicion, yet all have integrated and succeeded. Hispanic organizations excuse their failure rates solely in terms of discrimination by white America and object vociferously when former Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos observes that Hispanic parents "don't take enough interest in education." But Cuban Americans have come to America and succeeded brilliantly. Do we discriminate against Hispanics from Mexico but not Hispanics from Cuba?

I suggest that those groups whose culture and values stress delayed gratification, education, hard work, success, and ambition are those groups that succeed in America – regardless of discrimination. I further suggest that, even if discrimination were removed, other groups would still have massive problems until they developed the traits that lead to success. Asian and Jewish children do twice as much homework as Black and Hispanic students, and get twice as good grades. Why should we be surprised?

A problem well-defined is a problem half-solved. We must recognize that all the civil rights laws in the world are not going to solve the problem of minority failure. Ultimately Blacks and Hispanics are going to have to see that their solution is largely in their own hands. Lionel Sosa, one of America's leading Hispanic businessmen, in his book *The Americano Dream*, titles his first chapter "Escaping the Cultural Shackles."

Daniel Patrick Moynihan has insightfully observed, "the central conservative truth is that it is culture, not politics, that determines the success of a society. The central liberal truth is that politics can change a culture and save it from itself."

Thus, morally, I would want badly to wave both wands, but if I had to choose I would wave the second wand. A Confucian or Jewish love of learning would gain minorities far more than any affirmative action laws we might pass. ■

***Richard D. Lamm**, former governor of Colorado, currently directs the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Governor Lamm's Prescient Book

A second look at Megatraumas

Book Review by Wayne Lutton

As he was finishing his third term as Governor of Colorado in 1985, Richard Lamm's book, *Megatraumas*, was released. It opens at the beginning of the twenty-first century, with the first woman elected U.S. President, Susan J. Hesperus (which means "evening star") preparing her State of the Union address. While we never get to read her speech, we do review a heterogeneous collection of papers, articles, speeches, and memoranda submitted by members of her Cabinet for use in preparing it. Governor Lamm employed the device of looking backward from the year 2000 to delineate his views on what was wrong with America in the mid-1980s. These were not predictions, but rather a series of *projections* of trends as he thought they might develop over the following 15 years. The prospects were not encouraging. By 2000, he suggested:

Megatraumas: America at the Year 2000
by Richard D. Lamm
New York: Houghton Mifflin
290 pages, out of print, used copies available.

- The U.S. economy would be debt-ridden, with structural unemployment nearing 20 percent, and high inflation leading to bank failures and riots. The U.S. came to have the lowest percentage of capital investment and the lowest growth in productivity and savings of any major industrialized country. America acquired the reputation of producing shoddy goods (auto-rental companies reported that U.S.-made cars required two or three times more servicing than comparable Japanese models). The middle class would be virtually wiped out by these inter-related economic predicaments.

- The U.S. has the most expensive and inefficient health-care system in the world. Americans still drink too much, smoke too much, and fail to wear seatbelts while driving. Yet, the federal government continues to subsidize the tobacco industry and downplays preventive medicine. After abusing their bodies for years, Americans turn to the government for expensive re-fits (artificial hearts, kidneys, cancer treatment, etc.)

- Immigration would be out of control. At a time when the U.S. economy was not creating enough new jobs for our own citizens, the federal government allowed millions of new immigrants to enter. The Southwest had become a "Hispanic Quebec." Taking their cue from Castro's success in 1980, when he released thousands of criminals, mental defectives, and deviants into Jimmy Carter's open arms, likewise other countries sent political terrorists, agents, and common criminals across the porous U.S. borders.

- America's educational system had entered a new Dark Age. Prosperous countries were training scientists and engineers. U.S. schools turned out tax accountants, real-estate salesmen, and lawyers. By 2000, two-thirds of all the world's lawyers would be practicing in the United States.

- America had become a dangerous, crime-infested country. "Gentrification" failed in the long run, and the desperately poor and criminal classes largely populated U.S. cities. In Lamm's book, the Department of Housing and Urban Development submits a plan calling for the federalization of large urban areas, which are then placed under martial law. The victimized poor are relocated to safe areas where housing and employment are available. The criminals

Wayne Lutton, Ph.D. *is Editor of* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and drug addicts are sent to prison camps and rehabilitation centers. It is recommended that Cleveland undergo salvaging for all usable materials "and then be bulldozed and its site finally reforested as a national park."

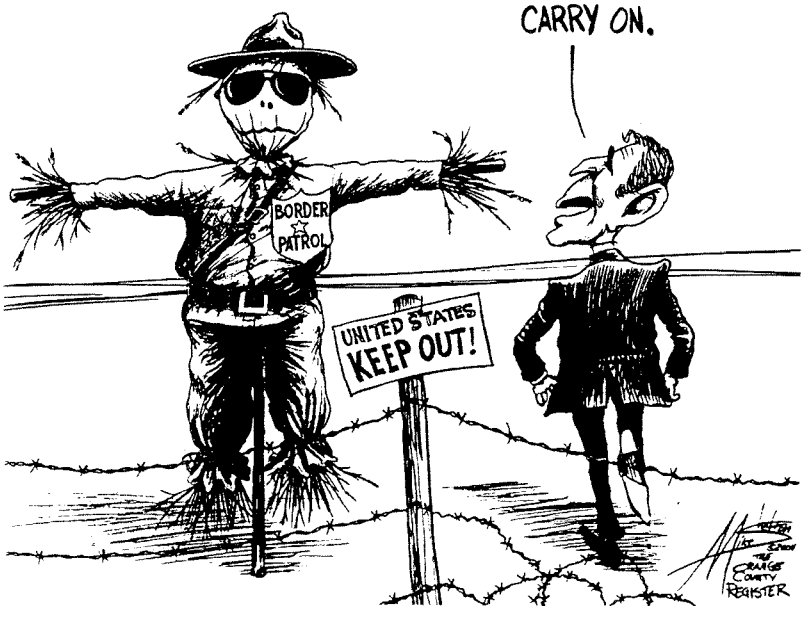
- Our groundwater is badly contaminated.
- The U.S. has an international welfare load to match its domestic one. An effort to increase exports to what a Treasury report characterizes as the "never-to-be-developed countries" has led to a dangerous overexploitation of American farmland.

Governor Lamm did not believe that our future was necessarily a dark one. Over the last quarter of *Megatraumas*, a new President is elected, following the "near disaster" of the Bush Administration. The fictional President Morgenstern ("morning star") manages to balance the budget and even starts paying off the national debt toward the end of his first term; means-testing for all welfare applicants leads to further budget cuts; health-care costs are reduced as prevention is stressed; the pension system is overhauled; the Federal Government regains control of our borders; the infrastructure – roads, highways, bridges, railroads, port facilities – is being rebuilt; U.S. food and economic aid is limited to countries that make genuine efforts to help themselves.

At the time his book first appeared, I wrote in *National Review* (September 12, 1986), Lamm has:

> *Performed a valuable public service by identifying problems that we must not continue to cover over with a glaze of shallow, contrived optimism, as so many presidential contenders and think-tank spokesmen are doing at present.*

During a symposium on "The Conservative Movement: Then and Now," Russell Kirk suggested that "It has happened from time to time in the history of civilization that a period of decadence and discouragement has been followed by a period of renewal and hope. It can be so with our American civilization." Kirk may have been right, but for such a rebirth to occur, the traumas outlined by Governor Lamm will have to be addressed with more than just another dose of supply-side happy talk. In the mid-1980s, Lamm saw the United States as "a nation in liquidation." He was not alone in this concern. At about the same time, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn warned, "Seen from the outside, the massive upheaval in American society is approaching the limit beyond which it will become 'meta-stable' and must collapse." ■



MIKE SHELTON, © 2004, *The Orange County Register*. Used by permission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Sierra Club

Why the present leadership still needs to take a hike

by Diana Hull

The Sierra Club's home base is California, where tract homes rise up overnight in the strawberry fields and yesterday's bare hillsides are covered with dwellings to be seen the next time you drive by in the traffic. Nowhere in the world, including Bangladesh, is the population growth curve rising so precipitously nor demographic change more relentless than in California.

In no other state is the result of population growth so obvious, its damage to the natural world more conspicuous, nor its remedies easier to identify.

Virtually 100 percent of California's population growth in 1990-2002 came from direct immigration (57%) and the rest from births to foreign-born women.

Here on the edge of the continent the toll on the environment from too many people makes "pro mass immigration environmentalism" a contradiction in terms because the coast has been identified as one of the 25 most endangered ecosystems in the world. Yet the Sierra Club refuses to identify the cause of this damage to all they claim to hold dear, wilderness, woodlands and biodiversity.

Since 1996, the club has instituted a "gag order" on discussing U.S. overpopulation. That is why the present leadership faced opposition again this year from a group of independent board candidates whose views on this policy are compatible with a minority faction already serving on the board. If several of this spring's candidates had been elected, a new coalition could reverse the Club's stonewalling on the need for U.S. population reduction and end certain "deals" they have made with pro-immigration interests. Naturally the possibility of "a changing of the guard" caused a brouhaha, which became, as power struggles go, a brutish assault by the Club's present leadership on those intent on replacing them.

Although the Club admits *its* primary goal is replacing President Bush because of his environmental policies, this attempt to replace *their* leadership has caused the Sierra Club President Larry Fahn to claim that opposition candidates were not only "outsiders" but connected with bigots and "right wing extremists" This attack parrots the tiresome slander of the most unscrupulous enemies of a sensible immigration policy, those self-appointed "beacons of tolerance" at the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Judging by the most exacting standard imaginable, the independent candidates had distinguished backgrounds and extensive credentials for the jobs they were seeking and are the kind of outstanding Americans that a saner Sierra Club leadership would welcome with open arms. Yet a postcard to members before the election warned that the Club has been "targeted for a hostile takeover by anti-immigration and animal right's groups."

Candidates so maligned were, for example, Richard Lamm, the former very popular three-term Democratic governor of Colorado and a lifelong environmentalist; Professor David Pimentel of Cornell University, an international authority on agriculture and energy; and Frank L. Morris, formerly with the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

Morris said he was shocked that "the Club leadership would try to smear me for taking a position on population held by the majority of African-Americans and Americans in general."

This need for population reduction was also endorsed by the "giants" of the environmental movement, Lester Brown, Stewart Udall, Gaylord Nelson, and Martin Litton of Grand Canyon fame. This was also the position of the late David Brower

***Diana Hull, Ph.D.**, is President of CAPS, Californians for Population Stabilization, 1129 State Street, Suite 3D, Santa Barbara, CA, 93101.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the John Muir Sierrans.

So the unanswered question is why a once laudable organization like the Sierra Club still insists that even if U.S. overpopulation has negative consequences for the environment, the Club will not deal with it. How they have gotten away with such a duplicitous position for so long is as difficult to explain as why they took such a stand in the first place.

Evidence suggests that club leaders have made an unsavory bargain with certain state and national elected officials – like the Latino Caucus in Sacramento and Washington, who promote open borders and mass immigration. In exchange for the support of these groups for selected environmental initiatives, which probably could have been achieved on their merits alone, the Sierra Club helps promote a "social justice" agenda for immigrants that includes the club having "no policy" on illegal entry and no recommendation for reduction in the overall numbers of immigrants.

This would explain, for example, the 2002 testimony of the California Sierra Club in Sacramento favoring approval of California drivers' licenses for illegal aliens – a topic clearly outside of the Club's purview, but of major importance to the Latino Caucus in Sacramento. This was a measure so unpopular with the majority of Californians; it helped bring down Governor Davis. There is evidence of the same kind of "deal-making" with a variety of pro-immigration members of congress who want to please their ethnic constituencies. That means not calling attention to the connection between immigration, overpopulation and a whole list of environmental problems.

Consequently the kinds of environmental threats the Sierra Club selects to take on, and the environmental damage they choose to ignore, are evidence of this political "tilt" that accommodates certain elected officials, the open borders political and business lobbies, and the preferences of funders like the Ford and its sister foundations.

In early spring the Sierra Club was party to a lawsuit trying to block construction of the final portion of a fence along the U.S. Mexican border in order to protect the habitat of the coastal scrub sage bird. But completing the fence could actually save the bird's habitat from being trampled by thousands of immigrants illegally crossing an obvious opening in the barrier between the U.S. and Mexico.

When the rights of illegal immigrants to enter the country are involved, the Sierra Club ignores the environmental damage they cause. And apparently they place higher value on the habitat of a bird than on the welfare and property of ranchers in the path of drug traffickers and human coyotes in the Southern Arizona desert. They have ignored illegal alien incursions into and through thousands of acres of oak woodland, grassland and unique desert vegetation in the Coronado National Forest and the Organ Pipe National Monument in Arizona. Frequent testimony to the Congress has described the human and vehicular traffic through these areas that has created trails the width of roads. Vegetation has been destroyed to such an extent that steep hillsides have been eroded and much ground laid bare, with litter spread wide – discarded clothing, blankets, food containers, toilet paper and human excrement. People in official positions with first hand knowledge of this desecration have given testimony about it repeatedly – local Sheriffs, County Attorneys, Park Rangers, and members of the Border Patrol.

Groups that supported the independent candidates in the recent Sierra Club election also testified on this issue, along with immigration research and reform groups, embattled ranchers and homeowners near the border, and relatives of border patrol officers who have been assassinated while on duty in this dangerous area. Yet the Sierra Club has never protested this scandalous and much-documented environmental damage – another example of their selective outrage and refusal to acknowledge the obvious.

There were actually five independent candidates likely prepared to challenge current club policy and election of any three of them would have put the independents in the majority. This fact was only too obvious to the current board majority and also threatened the tenure of Karl Pope the Executive Director.

Unfortunately the outspoken Paul Watson of the Sea Shepherd Society gave the group in control the sound bite they needed. He said, "We're only three directors away from controlling that [Sierra Club] board. And once we get three more directors elected...[We'll] change the entire agenda of that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organization." Truthful in part? Yes! Politically astute? Hardly!

Using this boast Groundswell Sierra, a group formed to defeat the independent candidates, sent out Watson's statement on a postcard to 750,000 Sierra Club members. They described themselves as "loyalists" in contrast to the independent candidates who they said had "targeted the club." They referred members to warnings to that effect that had appeared in the *LA Times, Denver Post* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* – stories most likely planted there by the Sierra Club itself.

A pre-election postcard also contained a note from Robert E. Kennedy Jr. urging members to vote for directors proposed by the nominating committee. This committee, he asserted, "cared about the Club's 112 year old mission, especially important because of the Bush administration's assault on the environment."

Whether all this pressure on the membership to defend the power of the incumbents was actually legal is still uncertain – but a threat to the position of well-entrenched leaders in any rich organization can expect to be challenged by "all means available." So the defeat of the independents in 2004 was not surprising in what turns out to be the early rounds in this very important policy struggle.

How long can the obvious be avoided? Nationally, the adding of two million immigrants a year defeats many of the Club's efforts to clean the air and preserve natural resources. The muting of this mission through "politically correct" deal-making must end. Why? Because it is only by protecting the human habitat from others of our kind that we can save the sage bird, too. ■

Economist says American workers lose $1,700 a year by Julia Malone, Cox News Service

WASHINGTON – Two decades of growth in the supply of immigrant workers cost native- born American men an average $1,700 in annual wages by 2000, a top economist has concluded.

Hispanic and black Americans were hurt most by the influx of foreign-born workers, says a report by Harvard University's George Borjas, considered a leading authority on the impact of immigration.

The findings could influence wide-ranging immigration proposals being urged by lawmakers and White House officials.

Congressional Democrats plan to launch comprehensive legislation whose provisions would legalize immigrant workers already here, guarantee labor rights and allow an increased flow of legal, temporary foreign workers.

Earlier this year, President Bush announced his own massive overhaul for immigration that would offer temporary legal status to workers now here and open the door for greater numbers of "willing workers" from abroad to take temporary jobs in America.

In his report, Borjas suggests that one effect of such proposals would be to depress wage growth for Americans at all levels of education and job skills.

His study of two decades of wages concluded that U.S.- born high school dropouts suffered the most – a 7.4 percent drop in annual wages by the year 2000. For high school graduates and workers with some college, the loss was a little more than 2 percent. And for college graduates, wages were held back an average 3.6 percent.

Borjas found that U.S.-born Hispanic workers saw their wages reduced by an average 5 percent, and U.S.-born blacks experienced a 4.5 percent drop.

"The reduction in earnings occurs regardless of whether the immigrants are legal or illegal, permanent or temporary," said Borjas, an immigrant from Cuba. "It is the presence of additional workers that reduces wages, not their legal status."

The Borjas study on the impact is unusually bleak, said Jared Bernstein, senior economist with the Economic Policy Institute, a research group financed by labor unions.

"I think the magnitude of the effect is quite large relative to other research," Bernstein said, arguing that the impact on wages is probably somewhat less dramatic.

Bernstein also said immigration reforms could change the equation by improving immigrants' status and wages.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How the Multicultural Ideology Captured America

by Lawrence Auster

Paraphrasing Richard Nixon's famous remark about Keynesianism, the Harvard sociologist Nathan Glazer declared some years ago that "We are all multiculturalists now." One's initial response to such an unwanted announcement is to say: "What do you mean, *'we'*?" Yet, even if "we" do not subscribe to multiculturalism, it cannot be denied that over the last twenty years multiculturalism has become the ruling idea of America, seen in every area of life from educational curricula to racial proportionality in private employment and university admissions (ensconced in the U.S. Constitution in *Grutter v. Bollinger*) to the quasi-official establishment of foreign languages to the constant invocations of "diversity" by our political, business, and intellectual elites. How, so quickly and effortlessly, did this alien belief system take over our country? I have elsewhere explained multiculturalism as an expression of the revolutionary increase of racial diversity that was unleashed by the 1965 Immigration Act.[1] In this article, however, I want to look at multiculturalism, not as the inevitable outcome of ethnic diversification, and not as the result of enforced political correctness, but as an ideology that has advanced itself by means of a set of propositions. My purpose is to examine the false arguments of the multiculturalists themselves, and to see how they have used these arguments to fool an all-too-willing American majority to go along with them.

The Fraud of Inclusion

The first principle of multiculturalism – if something so untrue can be called a principle – is the equality of all cultures. According to the multiculturalists, America is an assemblage of racially or ethnically defined subcultures, all of which have equal value, and none of which can claim a privileged position.

The second principle of multiculturalism is inclusion. It is said that minority and non-Western cultures have been unjustly excluded in the past from full participation in our culture, and that in order to correct this historic wrong we must now include them on an equal basis. Moreover, we are told, such inclusion of different cultures does not threaten our culture, but "enriches" it. By this reasoning, if we became (say) an officially bilingual society, with Spanish appearing alongside English on every cereal box and street sign in the land (as is done with the two languages of Canada), our culture would not be harmed in the slightest. We would only be including something we once excluded. We would have become something *more*, not *less*. What could be more positive? How could any decent person object?

To answer that question, let us imagine a scenario in which a Western cultural group – say a large population of Italian Catholics – moved en masse into a non-Western country – say in the Moslem Mideast – and demanded that the host society drop all public observance of its majority religion and redefine itself as a multicultural state. When the Moslems react in fear and outrage, the Catholics answer: "What are you so uptight about, brothers? In challenging Islam's past exclusionary practices, we're not *threatening* your religion and way of life, we're *enriching* them." Of course, as even the multiculturalists would admit in this hypothetical instance (since in this scenario it is a non-Western, rather than a Western, culture that is being threatened), such "enrichment" would change Islam into something totally unacceptable to the

***Lawrence Auster** is the author of* Erasing America: The Politics of the Borderless Nation. *He runs the weblog* View from the Right, *www.amnation.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Moslem majority. By the same logic, if the U.S. Congress were required to conduct all its proceedings in Chinese or Spanish alongside English, that would obviously not "enrich" America's political tradition, but radically disrupt and change it. To say that a majority culture must "include" alien traditions in order to prove its own moral legitimacy is to say that the majority culture, *as* a majority culture, has no right to exist.

Since multiculturalism claims to stand for the sanctity and worth of each culture, the discovery that its real tendency is to dismantle the existing, European-based culture of the United States should have instantly discredited it. Yet whites in general, and conservatives in particular, have continually failed to notice this obvious contradiction. One reason for this failure is that modern conservatives – being race-blind, democratic universalists – tend to see multiculturalism solely as an attack on the ideology of universalism. They don't see multiculturalism as an attack on a *particular culture and people*, namely their own, because as universalists they have no allegiance to that particular culture and people. Thus the typical white conservative today will say that multiculturalism is bad because "it divides us into different groups" – which is of course true. But he rarely says that multiculturalism is bad because "it is destroying *our* culture" – the majority culture and peoplehood of European Americans – since that would imply that he was defending a particular culture rather than a universalist idea. Since conservatives have been unprepared to defend European America as such, they have been unable to point out the true nature of multiculturalism, which is that it is an attack on white Western civilization, and so they have have been unable to oppose multiculturalism effectively.

The following examples will help illustrate the real aim of multiculturalism and the white majority's persistent blindness to it. My use of the present tense in these examples to portray the respective sides of the diversity debate should not be taken to suggest that the debate is still continuing in any practically meaningful sense. As has been increasingly evident since the mid-1990s, the "culture war," if there ever was one, is over and the left has won. My purpose therefore is not to warn against the multicultural takeover of America, since that has already happened, but rather to show *how* that takeover occurred, and, equally importantly, to show the failures of thinking on the part of the white majority that allowed it to occur. It is only by exploring those intellectual errors to their root, and by reversing them in our own minds, that there can be any hope of mounting an effective resistance to the multicultural regime under which we now live.

Example 1: The multiculturalists charge that the Western literary tradition is too "narrow" because it doesn't include voices of Third-World peoples of color. The implication is that the Western tradition as it has existed up to the present moment is not legitimate, and that it can only become legitimate by including other traditions.

Two realities are ignored here, both by the multiculturalists and by the mainstream American whites who are their primary targets. The first reality is that the Western tradition *is* a tradition. The second reality is that it is *our* tradition – the "our" referring to all those who are, or who aspire to be, heirs and members of that tradition. When multiculturalists object to the word "our," claiming it is exclusive, they are really saying that they don't consider the Western tradition to be *theirs*. They are saying that they want to take it over and change it into something else. They are saying *that they don't want the Western tradition to exist any more*. And when whites quickly agree that whites shouldn't say "our" tradition (because the Western tradition is universal and belongs to the whole world), they have tacitly conceded that the Western tradition has no right to exist.

Example 2: Black studies professor Henry Louis Gates writes that the universities should adopt a curriculum that reflects all the world's cultures, not merely Western culture. Such a world culture, Gates continues, "situates the West as one of a community of civilizations. After all, culture is always a conversation among different voices."

That last comment is a snare for the gullible. It is one thing to say that the Western conversation consists of such different voices as (for example) Christianity, Judaism, Greek philosophy, and modern science. It is quite a different thing to say that the Western conversation consists of Shi'ite Islam, Animism, Voodoo, and Rastifarianism. Clearly, to include every voice as an equal participant in the Western

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conversation would mean the end of the Western conversation. Gates tacitly admits this is his purpose when he remarks: "To insist that we 'master our own culture' before learning others ... only defers the vexed question: What gets to count as 'our' culture? What has passed as 'common culture' has been an Anglo-American regional culture, masking itself as universal."[2] In other words, the Anglo-American or Western culture should not be transmitted as our primary culture because it is not really "ours," and it is not really "ours" because it doesn't include all cultures, meaning non-Western cultures and those who belong to them.

Leaving aside the complex question of whether and to what extent Western culture includes non-Westerners, the more immediate concern to us here is that Western culture *is* the culture of *Westerners*. Gates wants to include other cultures within Western culture so that the resulting hodgepodge will belong equally to everyone in the world. But – and this is the point overlooked both by the multiculturalists and their white universalist critics – that means taking Western culture *away* from Westerners.

Example 3: In a widely-publicized incident at the University of Pennsylvania in the early 1990s, an administrator sharply criticized an undergraduate on a diversity planning committee for writing of her "deep regard for the individual." "This is a RED FLAG phrase today," the administrator wrote back, "which is considered by many to be RACIST. Arguments that champion the individual over the group ultimately privilege the 'individuals' belonging to the largest or dominant group."[3] For the multiculturalists, Western individuality is nothing but a mask of illegitimate white dominance, which must be stripped away. But for Westerners, Western individuality is an integral aspect of their being. Therefore to get rid of Western individuality (so as to include non-individualistic, non-Western cultures) is to destroy the very essence of Western people. Conservative critics of multiculturalism never grasp this fact, because, as univeralists, the notion of a particularist Western essence is alien to them.

Example 4: The celebrated black novelist Toni Morrison writes that the American ideals of liberty and the rights of man are "*permanently* allied with . . . the hierarchy of race."[4] [Emphasis added]. Morrison may be more correct than she realizes. The ideals of liberty that she despises – whether they be secretly "hierarchic" or not – *are* white Western ideals, and it's clear to anyone with eyes that race-avenging blacks such as Morrison will quickly destroy the rights and institutions based on those ideals as soon as they are in a position to do so. If blacks believe – whether correctly or not – that liberty is only a *white* ideal, then the acquisition of political power by blacks, with their contrasting *black* ideals (i.e. ideals of black racial consciousness and black racial power), must mean the end of liberty. Meanwhile, the white universalists see Morrison's ideas only as a threat to a universal order in which blacks and whites could live together as one. They fail to see these ideas for what they really are: an attempt to destroy *white* culture and replace it by *black* culture.

Example 5: The more outspoken multiculturalists will admit that the cultures they want to "include" in the American culture are radically at odds with it. Diversity consultant Edwin J. Nichols teaches the following model explaining the divergent intellectual styles of ethnic groups:

The Philosophical Aspects of Cultural Difference:

- European and Euro-American: Member-Object. The highest value lies in the object or in the acquisition of the object.
- African, Afro-American, Native American, Hispanics, Arabs: Member-Member; the highest value lies in the inter-personal relationship between persons.
- Asian, Asian-American, Polynesian: Member-Group. The highest value lies in the cohesiveness of the group.
- Native American: Member-Great Spirit. The highest values lies in oneness with the Great Spirit.[5]

Observe how Nichols portrays the Western orientation in negative terms ("Member-Object," "acquisition") that suggest cold selfishness and materialism, while he describes the non-Western cultures in positive terms ("inter-personal relationship," "group cohesiveness," "oneness with the Great Spirit") that suggest warmth and humanity. Yet Nichols' very attempt to debunk the West and praise

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the non-West has the opposite effect from what he intends, since the unpleasant-sounding phrase "Member-Object" is really a way of describing the Western belief in *objective truth* – the very basis of Western religion, science, philosophy, law, and government. Since the non-Western orientations that Nichols promotes are all antithetical to Western objectivity, how could they possibly be "included" with it on "equal" terms? Similarly, Nichols unfavorably contrasts the European logic system, based "in dichotomy, by which reality is expressed as either-or," with "African logic" which is "characterized by the union of opposites."[6] But this wonderful African freedom from "either/or" dichotomies indicates the lack of something indispensable to Western civilization – the rational faculty by which we attempt to distinguish between what is objectively true and what is only a feeling or opinion.

"Inclusion is not a good idea that suddenly turns bad and harms our culture; such harm is its destined result, even its conscious aim, from the very start."

The problem becomes more acute when we realize that these subjectivist modes of black thought are not merely an invention of white multiculturalists, but an enduring legacy of black people in both Africa and America. The black system of "logic" is evidenced in popular conspiracy theories that have claimed, among other things, that white doctors were deliberately implanting the AIDS virus in blacks; that the white race was created 5,000 years ago by a mad scientist named Yacub; that Aristotle "stole" his philosophy from the "black" Library of Alexandria (even though Aristotle died before the library was built); and that four bumbling Los Angeles homicide detectives managed to organize, on a moment's notice, a conspiracy of superhuman complexity in order to pin a gruesome double murder on a popular black athlete and entertainer. In underscoring the pervasive black rejection of logical thought, Nichols does not seem to realize that he is making a most compelling case for whites (or at least those whites who still believe in logical thought) to reject black claims of cultural equality.

Nor is the Arab "Member-Member" orientation, which Nichols contrasts favorably with the Western "Member-Object" orientation, a mere multiculturalist fiction. It is seen in the Arab ethos in which "keeping face" is more important than speaking the truth, as David Pryce-Jones has described in his important book on Arab culture.[7] We can also see the Arab attitude toward truth in those Arab-American "moderates" who with straight faces deny that there is such a thing as Arab and Moslem terrorism. These are the same "moderates" who have organized mass campaigns of intimidation against American journalists who revealed the facts about Arab and Moslem support for terrorism.[8] Given the Arab/Moslem frame of mind that is intensely ethnocentric and fundamentally at odds with Western notions of rationality and fairness, we can only conclude that if Moslems gained real power in America the result would be the same kind of chronic inter-group conflict, political instability, and lack of freedom that obtains in every Arab country.

The inclusion of non-Western cultures in our culture must spell the ruin of our culture, since those other cultures are – and are explicitly understood by their spokesmen to be – radically incompatible with our culture. Inclusion is not a good idea that suddenly turns bad and harms our culture; such harm is its destined result, even its conscious aim, from the very start.

The Denial of Difference

Even as the inclusion of minority cultures threatens the identity and existence of the national culture, so-called "moderate" multiculturalists tell us that changing our culture beyond recognition does not threaten our culture, but just makes it more inclusive. According to Professor Carlos Cortes:

> *Overwhelmingly, this curricular reform has involved no rejection of American Unum, no repudiation of Western civilization, no adoption of valueless, non-judgmental relativism. Rather,*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> *it has involved a serious recasting of the meaning of American Unum as a more Pluribus concept that recognizes the importance and value of engaging and considering previously marginalized voices and perspectives.*[9]

Beneath the soothing professional verbiage, we can discern the familiar outlines of the multicultural paradigm: that there is a designated Hispanic, Asian, Afro-Caribbean, and woman's "perspective"; that each of these perspectives must have equal representation in every academic subject and hiring decision; and that the goal is power and official recognition for those groups *as* groups. Cortes must also know that as those previously marginalized groups become dominant, the former majority culture, along with its "Unum," will disappear. His real message is that the disappearance of the majority culture is just fine, *so long as we maintain a pleasing front of "Unum"* that will keep the gullible Anglos safely pacified until the transition to the multicultural society is complete.

Cortes reveals his real intentions when he says that, until the state of perfect inclusion has been reached, the minority cultures must continue to enjoy privileged enclaves in the curriculum (which is sort of like calling for the withering away of the state, then adding the caveat that *in the meantime* society must come under the dictatorship of the proletariat.) In other words, while the majority culture is in the process of being submerged by the inclusion of every minority culture, every minority culture is to be guaranteed the mastery of its own domain. The majority will give up its identity, while the minorities aggrandize theirs. This is no mere theory, but an activist agenda that has been put into effect throughout our society. In every field one can think of, ranging from student groups to professional associations to legislative bodies, the former mainstream organization has been "quota-ized" via minority representation so that it can no longer represent the traditional American majority culture, but only the idea of "diversity," while at the same time each of the minority groups has been granted the right to have a separate and exclusive sub-organization to represent its racial interests. There is the Congressional Black Caucus that speaks for blacks as blacks, but no Congressional white caucus that speaks for whites as whites; the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials that speaks for Hispanics as Hispanics, but no association of white elected officials that speaks for the interests of whites as whites; an Hispanic Journalists' Association, but no European-American Journalists' Association; black policeman's organizations, but no white policeman's organizations; an infinite number of nonwhite student organizations, but no white students organizations. And, of course, any attempt to create white-oriented organizations is stopped in its tracks by the same mainstream institutions that officially promote the development of non-white organizations.

The Myths of Mainstream Multiculturalism

If inclusion is as obvious a fraud as I have been suggesting, and so evidently directed at the destruction of America's majority culture, why have mainstream Americans been so blind to it? One reason is the multiculturalists' skillful portrayal of multiculturalism as a benign and harmless movement, based on established principles that everyone, except for bigots, embraces.

The general pattern of the "good" multiculturalism goes something like this:

- The multiculturalists say that "respecting other cultures" poses no threat to American culture. This claim goes unchallenged by the leaders of the majority culture, partly because they believe it, partly because they want to appear inclusive rather than alarmist. According to the liberal critic Paul Berman, most academics who supported multiculturalism had no conscious desire to destroy Western intellectual culture. They only wanted to "expand" the Western tradition by including previously overlooked or excluded voices.[10] Seeing multiculturalism as essentially benign, they dismissed the conservatives' attack on it as overwrought.

- But as soon as multiculturalism is admitted into the mainstream, it suddenly turns out that "respecting minority cultures" means nothing less than granting those cultures a form of sovereignty, which means *delegitimizing* the mainstream culture in which the minority cultures have just been included.

- Even though this turn of events has exposed the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"moderate" position as radical, anyone who questions it is now placed on the defensive. Almost overnight, what had once been considered radical, and had to conceal itself, has become the mainstream consensus, while what had once been seen as the mainstream consensus, and excluded radicalism, has been silenced.

• Finally, even after this darker side of multiculturalism has been revealed, there is no end of liberals who cry: "But that's not what *I* mean by multiculturalism! I'm in favor of the *good* multiculturalism." As if to say: "This bad multiculturalism is not *really happening*. Therefore I don't have to do anything to oppose it. I'll just keep calling for the good multiculturalism." Meanwhile, like the pod people in *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, the bad multiculturalism continues to take over more and more of America's body without anyone seeing that it is happening, until the moment arrives when we discover, in Nathan Glazer's pathetic phrase, that "we are all multiculturalists now."

The myth of the "moderate" multiculturalism is a theme with many variations.

Moderate Myth Number One:
Multiculturalism is Only Theoretical

One of the factors that helped multiculturalism gain a foothold in the academy is the notion that multiculturalism is part of the twentieth century's great intellectual movement of cultural studies, in which researchers in such fields as anthropology, archeology, and comparative religion have made extraordinary progress in understanding ancient and non-Western cultures and religions.[11] In fact, cultural studies have often served as a front for an ideological agenda.

At a symposium on "The Plurality of Civilizations" at an academic conference in Chicago some years ago, Professor Allen Heumer gave a talk on the religious beliefs of the Lakota Sioux.[12] The Lakota, he argued, do not worship nature gods as is widely believed, but a transcendent deity not unlike the God of Judaism and Christianity. He concluded that the Lakota religion has a deep spiritual validity that we should understand and respect.

As an apparently serious attempt to explain a non-Western culture to Western minds, Heumer's talk exemplified what some have called the good multiculturalism, and his paper received a sympathetic response from a generally conservative, or at least not left-wing, audience. But when I chatted with Heumer afterward, he unveiled a radical agenda that had not even been hinted at in his scholarly paper: the Sioux, he matter-of-factly told me, should carve a sovereign nation for themselves out of chunks of Wyoming, Montana, and South Dakota. Somewhat taken aback, I replied that this would mean the break-up of the United States and possible civil war. Heumer said that was no problem. "What would there be to fight over?" he asked in a tone of airy dismissal. When I said that it is precisely over such issues of sovereignty that nations have always fought wars, he brushed that aside as well. He seemed indifferent to the prospect that other minority groups, each claiming large chunks of territory, might also want to secede from the United States. At this point, a deferential-seeming black graduate student from Canada who had been listening to our conversation politely suggested that my attitude was "reactionary."

Thus, in what seemed like the blink of an eye, the focus of the scene had shifted from (1) Heumer's engaging analysis of the inner life of a non-Western culture, to (2) his demand for *political sovereignty* for that culture, to (3) the labeling of a critic as "reactionary" for questioning this demand. Pretending to seek some "higher truth" in a non-Western culture that could be seen as common to all cultures (an endeavor that would naturally appeal to well-meaning, universalist academics, especially conservatives), he converted that other culture into a political weapon that he then turned against *our* culture. For a non-academic like myself, this brief conversation seemed to capsulize everything I had heard about the radicalization of the universities in recent times.

Moderate Myth Number Two:
Cultural Differences Don't Matter

Resistance to multiculturalism has also been softened by the idea that the non-Western customs being included in our society are insignificant and inoffensive, on the order of ethnic foods or folk songs. Educational historian Diane Ravitch, who is both a moderate supporter and a moderate critic of multiculturalism, once said (in a published exchange with this writer) that "[i]n the United States, one may

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be a good citizen without relinquishing one's native culture, language, religion, food, dress, or folkways."[13] An ardent believer in the liberal democratic tradition and the idea of a common citizenship, Ravitch could only have made this remarkable statement if she believed that there are no cultural differences that can actually *matter* in a political or civic sense. If ethnic particularities cannot become a basis for civic conflict, then there's no need for minority immigrant groups to give them up.

To maintain this view, Ravitch has to ignore the many ethnic differences that obviously *do* matter in a civic and political sense. West African-style polygamy, Latin American political extremism, Chinese secret societies, Moslem absolutism, Haitian voodoo, African female genital mutilation, and Hmong cruelty toward animals, are some examples that come to mind. The moderate multiculturalists ought to explain how the carriers of such customs can be good citizens in a constitutional democracy founded on common allegiance to reason, tolerance, and respect for the rights of others.

Even "mere" differences in clothing are not necessarily benign or insignificant from the point of view of maintaining a common civic sphere. Would Ravitch have no problem with, say, a Congressman wearing a Sikh headdress on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives? How about a district attorney sporting an Afrocentric robe and cap, or a female Moslem police officer with her entire face covered in a black veil? Such things are no longer impossible. Since the 1980s the Canadian government has permitted Sikh-Canadian policemen to wear their traditional turbans while on duty. Black lawyers in the U.S. have demanded the right to sport provocative ethnic clothing such as the kente cloth and outlandish hairstyles as expressions of racial solidarity with their clients and members of the jury. Moslem women wearing traditional head coverings are increasingly visible in America, and will soon be moving into the professions and other prominent positions.

My point is that the common political culture that Ravitch claims to believe in cannot long survive without certain *pre-political* commonalities – including language, food, dress, and folkways – that Ravitch dismisses as insignificant. Flamboyant dress conveying a distinct civilizational or racial identity not only breaks down the sense of a common culture, but the sense of a common citizenship.

If minority groups do not need to give up any aspect of their culture, as Ravitch and others have suggested, then it is hard to see why they shouldn't have their own systems of justice as well. Such an alternative system is already being practiced by black juries who refuse to convict their fellow blacks regardless of the evidence. Depending on the ethnic identity of the parties in a given case, there could be an African tribal council one day (complete with "enstoolment" ceremonies and ritual bows to ancestors), a Communist Chinese-style inquisition hearing the next day, a Mexican village-style gathering the next day, then an Iranian-style revolutionary tribunal presided over by a Mullah, then a trial with a black judge and jury getting revenge against the racist police. When things like this start happening, will the liberal believers in a pluralist civic culture – having encouraged non-Westerners to keep their language, dress, and folkways – cry out: "But this is not what I meant, not what I meant at all"?

Moderate Myth Number Three:
'Why can't we have both?'

If there are no important differences between Western and other cultures, then no hard choices between Western and other cultures are necessary. When a niece of mine was in college she said to me: "Western culture is good, but others are good, too." Her point was that we should welcome all cultures and fear none. Like my niece, the typical moderate liberal cannot understand that certain differences may be irreconcilable. Confronted with dichotomies as old as the hills, the moderate innocently asks: "Why can't we have *both*? Why can't we have Western culture *and* multiculturalism? Why can't we have excellence *and* diversity?" When his wishful thinking collides with reality, he must resort to further evasions. Jim Bowman writing in the *Chicago Tribune* complained that advanced courses in the Oak Park elementary schools were being dropped because those classes tended to be all-white, which went against the school's goal of racial diversity in every classroom. "A good thing, diversity, is used as a club to bash another good thing, gifted or advanced classes." The schools, Bowman writes, "have elevated racial diversity (our civic religion) from a legitimate, permeating element to an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

illegitimate, all-encompassing one."[14]

But what, pray tell, is the difference between a "permeating" element and an "all-encompassing" one? Somehow Bowman imagines that the drive to establish proportional racial diversity in every niche of society is suddenly going to be abandoned when it threatens something *he* likes, such as advanced academic classes. Unable to grasp the radical essence of his own ideas, the moderate liberal always ends up believing that he can eat his civilization and have it.

Myth Number Four:
'Everything' is multicultural

In order to break down any resistance to multiculturalism, it wasn't enough to portray it as mainstream; it also had to be seen as *inevitable*. The moderate multiculturalists achieved both these ends by means of an audacious myth. America, they told us, has "always" been multicultural. In fact, all the societies that have ever existed have been multicultural. Multiculturalism is simply the human condition, not to be questioned any more than the air we breathe. Many advocates of this view are not multiculturalists *per se* but old-fashioned progressives (or, to put it less politely, international socialists), who have an ingrained hostility toward nationhood, religion, and all other inherited group distinctions, which they see as obstacles to the political and economic unification of mankind. When these progressives say that "all cultures are multicultural," they are not really seeking to emphasize cultural differences (as the radical multiculturalists do), but rather to underscore a universal *sameness* that would render nations – or at least the American nation – obsolete.

I first became aware of this attitude on the left when chatting with a politically liberal female acquaintance of mine. It is futile to oppose multiculturalism, this exuberant lady told me, because *all* civilizations have been created by diversity; even ancient Greece, she said, was the product of many diverse peoples and cultural traditions coming together. I asked her what those diverse traditions were, and she emphatically replied: "*We can't know that.*" Her insistence on the diversity of ancient Greek culture, combined with her odd refusal to consider what this diversity consisted of, made me realize that her motives were ideological rather than intellectual: The reason she had no curiosity in the cultures or beliefs that produced Greek civilization was that such information must lead to the conclusion that Greece, though of "diverse" cultural origins, had a "diversity" that was distinct from that of *other* "diverse" cultures. And that would have forced her back to the truth she wanted to deny – that different cultures are *different* and not easily assimilable to each other. When she called ancient Greece "diverse," she was not trying to say anything specific about ancient Greece. She was saying that *all* cultures are diverse, and therefore that all cultures are the *same*.

The belief in a "universal" multiculturalism has become a truism in left-liberal circles. Writing in the moderate leftist journal *Dissent*, Reed Dasenbrock argues that medieval England, because its language

"In order to break down any resistance to multiculturalism, it wasn't enough to portray it as mainstream; it also had to be seen as inevitable."

was a hybrid of Anglo-Saxon and Norman French, was "multicultural." But if late medieval England was truly a *hybrid* culture, as Dasenbrock believes, then it was *one* culture, not a multiculture, in the same way that a hybrid plant species is *one* species, not a combination of different species, or that a human being is *one* person, not simply a mix of his mother's and father's characteristics. In other words, Dasenbrock has misconstrued one of history's most remarkable instances of cultural assimilation as an example of multiculturalism. He goes on to argue that the whole of Western culture is really "multicultural." Like medieval England, Western culture was also a mix of distinctive cultural components, which he identifies as the Greco-Roman civilization and Christianity:

> *[I]t took an immense synthesizing labor across centuries to bring them into some sort of harmony. Dante, Spenser, and Milton – in seeking to fuse classical*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> *culture with Christianity – are thus ... multicultural ... and if we fail to realize this immediately, we are only testifying to how successful their work of assimilation was.*[15]

As with his discussion of "multicultural" medieval England, Dasenbrock's proof of a multicultural West demonstrates the exact opposite: that during the centuries following the fall of the western Roman empire, there was a slow but successful blending of distinct traditions into a new culture that we call the Christian West or Western culture.

Dasenbrock does not stop at appropriating the entire West into the multicultural project. "Multiculturalism is simply the *standard human condition*," he declares. "We now need to do this [i.e., to bring different cultures together] *with the totality of the cultures of the world*." [Italics added]. He describes his goal as "the construction of a world culture," and ultimately a world government. Yet he also assures his readers that fusing the West with the world "doesn't represent a surrender of the Western tradition as much as a reaffirmation of it." This is an absurd statement, yet it follows with absolute, logical consistency from Dasenbrock's absurd premise. Since he has defined the West as "multicultural," i.e. as a collection of many different and unrelated parts, it follows that to combine the West with every other culture – Islam, Confucianism, animism, and so on – would only *increase the number of parts* and therefore *enhance* Western culture! The truth, of course, is that in such a promiscuous mix everything distinctive and individual about the West would be obliterated. But Dasenbrock has attained, at least in theory, the left's millennial goal of a world without borders, a world without "us" and "them," a world without distinctive cultures and their mutual hatreds, and, most important of all, a world without white America and the white West.

The irony is that by today's standards Dasenbrock is a moderate. His method is not vilification of the West, but word-magic: Describing the West as a historically diverse mixture of many elements (a vague generality with which even cultural conservatives would have a hard time disagreeing), he then turns that description into an activist project to reconstruct the world by combining all diverse cultures into the global culture of his imagination. Finally, since this global project is only *enhancing* the cultural diversity that he has already posited as the defining characteristic of the West, Dasenbrock can plausibly claim that he comes not to destroy the West, but to fulfill it. The argument is a tunnel from which our culture cannot emerge alive. Once you have accepted the "moderate" premise that America and the West have no enduring identity of their own but are defined by diversity, it becomes logically impossible to oppose the rest of the multiculturalist program.

Moderate Myth Number Five:
The Pro-Western Non-Westerner

Another soothing fiction that has helped advance multiculturalism is a personality type rather than an idea. It is the friendly Third-World immigrant, who warmly professes his or her love for America, yet who, on closer examination, reveals a desire to do away with America as an historically distinct country. Such a moderate is the novelist Bharati Mukherjee, an immigrant to the U.S. by way of Canada, who had this to say in a public television interview with Bill Moyers in 1990:

> *What I like to think, Bill, is that you and I are both now without rules, because of the large influx of non-Europeans in the '70s and '80s, and more to come in the '90s. That it's not a melting pot situation anymore, and I don't like to use the phrase melting pot if I can help it, because of the 19th century associations with mimicry; that one was expected to scrub down one's cultural eccentricities and remake oneself in the Anglo-Saxon image. If I can replace melting pot with a phrase like fusion vat, or fusion chamber, in which you and I are both changed radically by the presence of new immigrants, I would be much happier. So that you are having to change your rules, I like to think, and I am certainly have to change my Old World rules....*[Emphasis added].
>
> *There are no comforts, no old mythologies to cling to. We have to invent new American mythologies. Letting go of the old notions of what America was shouldn't be seen as a loss.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> *...I hope that as we all mongrelize, or as we all fuse, that we will build a better and more hopeful nation.*[16]

Underneath Mukherjee's confiding and civilized tone, she was informing her American audience that they must "mongrelize" themselves in order to accommodate non-Europeans.* In this new dispensation (unchallenged by her supremely passive and "open" interviewer, Bill Moyers, who piously hung on her every word), the preservation of America as a historic nation and people was not even an issue any more. To grasp how unnatural this situation was, imagine an immigrant in some relatively sane country – say Japan or Italy or the pre-1965 America – who, shortly after his arrival, announces to his new countrymen: "Oh, by the way, you people must – in order to make *me* comfortable – give up everything that has constituted your culture and identity. But don't worry! You shouldn't see this as a loss!" He would be thrown out on his ear. Yet by the 1990s America had become the sort of decadent place where a smooth-talking "moderate" could make a career saying exactly that.

Like most imperialists, Mukherjee seemed complacently oblivious to the culture and people she wished to dominate. At one point in the Moyers interview, she predicted an increase in ethnic violence, "because there's a kind of disinvestment in America. ... [P]eople have not invested in the country. There's been a 'What part of the pie is for me?' kind of an attitude..." It didn't seem to occur to her that the disinvestment in America that she regretted may have had something to do with the devaluing of America's historic identity that she applauded. Indeed, if anyone was wondering, "what part of the pie is for me," it would seem to be Mukherjee herself and her fellow immigrants, whom she spoke of as "we, the new pioneers, who are thinking of America as still a frontier country."

> *I think that the original American pioneers had to have been in many ways, hustlers, and capable of a great deal of violence in order to wrest the country from the original inhabitants. And to make a new life, new country, for themselves. So that vigor of possessing the land, I like to think, my characters have.*

Mukherjee's agenda, though expressed in terms of her fictional characters, couldn't be clearer. She was boasting that her fellow non-Europeans are seizing America from its historic white inhabitants, just as the early white settlers took the land from the Indians and dispossessed *them* as a people. Moreover, by smearing the American pioneers as hustlers, she was implicitly justifying any chicanery her own people might now use to gain power for themselves. Enlarging on her imperial afflatus, she went on to tell Moyers (who kept nodding his approval): "*I want to reposition the stars ... I want to conquer, I mean, I want to love and possess this country.*" [Italics added.] This South Asian immigrant "loves" America so much that she wants to take it over for her own people – and kick *us* out.

The sad part is that most people listening to Mukherjee wouldn't have picked up on her imperialist subtext. Americans today are so gushingly pleased whenever they hear an immigrant confess her "love" for America that they hear nothing else.

Moderate Myth Number Six: How 'Equality' Becomes 'Diversity'

Now we come to what is perhaps the most important multicultural myth of all, the belief that inclusion is simply about equality. Equality – or, to be more precise, antiracism – is the sheep's clothing of multiculturalism. The opinion makers of post World War II America carefully taught us that ethnic and cultural differences are of no intrinsic importance and should *never* be a factor in how we treat people. Once our minds had been molded by this simple but powerful idea, we commenced opening the doors of our nation to formerly excluded groups. But each time the doors have been opened and some new group has been admitted, a very strange thing has happened: The ideal of "equality" has suddenly been replaced by the ideal of "diversity." *Now* the opinion makers tell us that the newcomers' ethnic and cultural differences are of supreme importance and must be "respected." *Now* they tell us that we, the host society, must turn ourselves inside out in order to accommodate these differences, to "sensitize" ourselves to them, to "learn" from them. Before we opened the doors, we had been told that to exclude culturally different people from our society was racist. But now that we've let them in, we're told that to expect them to fit into our society is racist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This bait-and-switch tactic – for that is what the appeal to a universal code of equality turns out to be – has played a decisive role in all the movements of inclusion, from black rights to women's rights to homosexual rights. Arguing for the sexual integration of the armed services in 1975 (and using language that was an exact paraphrase of that used by the 1965 immigration reformers), Rep. Sam Stratton of New York said that "the sole issue is a *simple matter of equality*... All we need is to establish the basic legislative policy that we wish to remove sex discrimination when it comes to admissions to the service academies." [Italics added].[17] Yet as soon as this non-discriminatory standard had opened the military to a significant number of women, the rhetoric of sex-blindness was replaced by the sex-conscious promotion of women and women's concerns. Standards of training and performance were dramatically lowered to accommodate women's lesser physical abilities and different intellectual tastes (for example, women have far less interest in military history than men do), and the official campaign against the military's "culture of masculinity" had begun. In exactly the same way, the outlawing of racial discrimination against blacks (in the name of equality) led directly to a system of racial preferences *for* blacks and *against* whites (in the name of diversity).

Their unashamed adoption of racial quotas and other discriminatory practices suggests that the real object of the civil rights movement was never color blindness *per se*, but simply the advancement of black people, *by any means that would work.** From the 1954 *Brown* decision to the passage of the 1960s civil rights laws, the non-discriminatory, color-blindness worked. But when it had taken blacks as far as it could take them (to enforceable legal equality, but not to enforceable economic and cultural equality), color-blindness was immediately dropped in favor of race-conscious preferences. The ink was barely dry on the 1964 Civil Rights Act when the federal government began requiring proportional group representation of blacks as proof that employers were not in violation of anti-discrimination laws, a demand that led to *de facto* quotas that systematically excluded qualified whites in favor of less-qualified blacks.[18] When whites began to protest this unlawful discrimination, black Supreme Court Justice and civil rights hero Thurgood Marshall replied (to his colleague William O. Douglas, no less!): "You guys have been practicing discrimination for years. Now it is our turn."[19] The notion of civil rights as *justice* was thrown aside the moment it had served its purpose, to be replaced by the notion of civil rights as racial advancement, racial entitlement, and racial revenge.

In much the same way, the bait-and-switch was used to create a vast "bilingual" education establishment. The reasonable-sounding idea that non-English speaking children should be given special help learning English in order to have an equal opportunity in this country (as stated by the Supreme Court in *Lau* v. *Nichols*) was soon transformed into the requirement that such children be taught in their native language – often, it turned out, for their entire public school careers. In fact, for most "bilingual" advocates and not a few Hispanic parents, the transmission and preservation of the Spanish language as a major and official language in this country had been their real motive from the start, and it continues to be their real, openly stated, goal to this day.[20] Yet during these past 30 years of controversy over bilingual education, white liberals have consistently failed to hear what the bilingual advocates were plainly telling them. Whites would point to the many documented failures of bilingual education to make children competent in English, thinking that this was a sufficient argument against bilingualism. But as far as the politically active part of the Hispanic community was concerned, Spanish maintenance, not assimilation, was bilingualism's true purpose. Seeing only the "bait" (equality and assimilation) and blind to the "switch" (diversity and ethnic pride), well-meaning whites would periodically call for more effective methods of English instruction for Hispanic youngsters – and then, to their shock, find themselves attacked as "racists." Unnerved, they would beat a quick retreat from the issue, leaving bilingual education in place.

In much the same way, the bait-and-switch has been used to accommodate whites to the browning of

* *Confirming my point, there is an activist organization called BAMN – the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action, Integration, and Immigrant Rights and Fight for Equality By Any Means Necessary.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America. The belief that all the peoples in the world are "the same as you and me" is used to get the immigration doors opened; as Bob Dole put it at the 1996 Republican Convention, the latest immigrants from Mexico are "as American as the descendants of the Founding Fathers." But as soon as the strangers are within the gates and it has become evident that they are *not* like you and me, the assurances of sameness are replaced by celebrations of difference.

Immigration advocate Earl Shorris admitted in his book, *Latinos: A Biography of the People*, that Hispanics were not assimilating like previous immigrant groups. Optimistic 1960s liberals, he said, seriously underestimated the tenacity of Hispanics' cultural and ethnic differences from the American mainstream. Shorris nevertheless denied that Hispanics are fragmenting America. They are "seeking *their version* of the American dream. – [T]he victories of Latino culture are victories of pluralism. ...Nothing is taken in return for this enrichment; it is, by definition, a gift."[21] [italics added].

In a rational world, the announcement by an open-borders advocate that the largest immigrant group is not assimilating would have been seen as at least somewhat damaging to the immigrant cause. But Shorris effortlessly turned this embarrassment into a blessing, telling his white liberal readers that, far from being upset, they should be *grateful* for the existence of a rapidly expanding, non-assimilating group that is intruding its own way of life, language, educational standards, and ethnic allegiances into this country.

Shorris had good reason for confidence that he could get away with this obvious ploy. He knew that white people cannot face the reality of ethnic and cultural difference and what it means for this society, because it would destroy their universalist belief that all people and all cultures can get along on a basis of perfect equality. The bait-and-switch almost always works – because whites *want* it to work. ■

NOTES

1. Lawrence Auster, *The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism*, American Immigration Control Foundation, 1991; Lawrence Auster, "Mass Immigration: Its Effects on Our Culture," *The Social Contract*, Vol. XII, No. 3, Spring 2002, p.215.

2. Henry Louis Gates, "Whose Culture Is It, Anyway?" *The New York Times*, May 4, 1991.

3. Richard Bernstein, *Dictatorship of Virtue: Multiculturalism and the Battle for America's Future*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994, p.75.

4. Heather MacDonald, "The Other Toni Morrison," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 14, 1993.

5. Bernstein, p.259.

6. Edwin J. Nichols, quoted in Bernstein, p.258.

7. David Price-Jones, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, New York, Harper and Row, 1989.

8. Daniel Pipes, "How Dare You Defame Islam," *Commentary*, November 1999, pp.41-45.

9. Carlos Cortes, "Pluribus and Unum: The Quest for Community Amid Diversity," *Change*, Sept/Oct 1991, p.8.

10. Paul Berman, *Debating P.C.*, New York: Dell Publishing, 1992, p.23.

11. Eric Voegelin, "On Classical Studies," in *Modern Age: The First Twenty-Five Years*, George A. Panichas, ed., Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1988, p.704.

12. Eric Voegelin Society, Annual Conference, Chicago, 1991.

13. Diane Ravich, "A Response to Auster," *Academic Questions*, Fall 1991, p.86.

14. Jim Bowman, "Nerds at Risk, or Racial diversity above all," *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1990.

15. Reed Dasembrock, "The Multiculturalist West," *Dissent*, Fall 1991, p.553.

16. Bill Moyers interview with Bharati Mukherjee, PBS, 1990.

17. James Webb, "The War on the Military Culture," *The Weekly Standard*, January 20, 1997, p.17.

18, Paul Craig Robert and Lawrence Stratton, *The New Color Line*, Regnery, 1995, pp.87-95.

19. Roberts and Stratton, p.104. Marshall made this dismissive comment to his fellow liberal Justice William O. Douglas, who, in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade his colleagues to review the case of a white who was refused admission to the Arizona bar to make room for blacks with lower bar exam scores, argued that "racial discrimination against a white was as unconstitutional as racial discrimination against a black."

20. Jacques Steinberg, "Answers to an English Question: Instead of Ending Program, New York May Offer a Choice," *The New York Times*, October 22, 2000, pp.37,40; Jacques Steinberg, "City's Bilingual Education Debated at Spirited Hearing," *The New York Times*, October 18, 2000, B4.

21. Earl Shorris, *Latinos: A Biography of the People*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, quoted by J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "People of Distinction," *New York Times Book Review*, November 22, 1992.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Lyrics of History

'We're more American than every last one of the Gringos'

by Glynn Custred

Tigres del Norte (Tigers of the North) is a Grammy-winning Latin band that caters to a growing Latino audience in the United States. Their album *Uniendo Fronteras* (Uniting Borders) was played on Spanish language radio stations across the country and in 2001 ranked near the top on *Billboard*'s Latin album chart. One of the album's most popular songs is *Somos mas Americanos, (We're More American)*. Judging by its ratings the song's message reszonated with Mexicans and their descendants in the United States. Here are some of its key verses (translated by Alan Wall).

A thousand times they have shouted at me
'Go home, you don't belong here'
Let me remind the Gringo
That I didn't cross the border,
the border crossed me.
America was free –man divided her
They drew the line so we had to jump it
And they call me the intruder ...

They purchased from us without money,
the waters of the Rio Bravo
They took from us Texas, New Mexico,
Arizona and Colorado
California too and Nevada
Even with Utah it was not enough –
they also took Wyoming from us

We are more American
than any son of the Anglo-Saxon ...

We are more American
than every last one of the Gringos.

Historical facts, of course, never get in the way of political myth. The victorious Americans after the Mexican War of 1846-1848 did indeed extend the sovereignty of the United States over the territory that today comprises California, New Mexico and Arizona. But under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 the United States also paid Mexico $15,000,000 and agreed to assume all claims from U.S. citizens against Mexico. Residents of those territories also received full United States citizenship, many of them later participating in the governments of the newly created states. Property rights were also maintained for the residents going back to the earliest Spanish land grants.

In 1854 the United States bought a strip of land in southern Arizona, the Gadsden Purchase for $10,000,000. The sale was not made under duress. It was a straight forward business deal between the United States and the Mexican president Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. The Americans wanted the land as a southern route for a transcontinental railroad. Santa Anna in turn wanted the money for a treasury he had drained through what historian Hubert Herring has described as Santa Anna's "profligate luxury, dirty intrigue and criminal waste." Santa Anna's many rivals attacked him for the purchase, accusing him of treason. In 1855 he was finally driven from office and into permanent exile.

To hear many Mexicans talk today, the territory transferred to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been an integral part of Mexico. This was by no means the case. The colony of New Mexico, founded at the very end of the sixteenth century, was firmly established by the nineteenth century, yet had remained for over two hundred years a small, remote and isolated outpost on the far northern fringes of the Spanish empire and later of its

***Glynn Custred, Ph.D.**, is a professor of anthropology at California State University, Hayward. He is the co-author and co-principal of the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI). This essay appeared February 12, 2004 at* www.directactiondemocracy.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexican successor. The other settlements in what was to become the American Southwest were far more recent efforts on the part of the dying Spanish empire to establish a presence in a part of the continent that the Spaniards had ignored until Spain's other imperial rivals, Britain and France, began to cast their eyes on that vast and remote part of the world. For example, the mission and presidio at San Francisco were established in 1776, the year that the Declaration of Independence was signed.

When Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821 she also inherited the same problems in the far north as her predecessor had faced. Chief among them was the vast distance that separated the over-extended northern limits of the Spanish empire from the heartland of Mexico, making colonization from the populated center of Mexico unfeasible and supply extremely difficult. For example, California at that time was one of the most remote places on earth, best reached from Mexico by sea, and so hard to supply that Spanish and later Mexican garrisons on the coast did not have enough gun powder to return the salutes of visiting ships. The Mexican administration in California was also corrupt and negligent, inspiring little loyalty from the population and sometimes provoking their enmity. By the end of the Mexican period the people identified themselves more as Californios than as Mexicans.

The commander of the Mexican army in California, General Mariano Vallejo, protested government corruption and criticized the unwillingness of the Mexican authorities to take adequate measures for defense against the Indians and to counter the designs of the Swiss adventurer John Sutter, who harbored grandiose plans for the establishment of a New Helvetia in California, and the Russians who had moved from Alaska to establish a post north of San Francisco at Fort Ross.

When the government in Mexico City finally responded, Santa Anna, the dictator of Mexico at the time, sent a new governor and an army; not a serious body of well-supplied fighting men, but a band of convicts rounded up from Mexican prisons and granted full pardons if they enlisted for service in the remote hardship post of California. Money was appropriated to pay their expenses but was never delivered. The armed convicts thus robbed the civilian population and pillaged the countryside. The Californios finally rebelled and the new governor and his hated convict army sailed back to where they had come from. Thus Mexico's only gesture on behalf of California turned out to be shabby and counterproductive and roundly rejected by the Californios. Nothing more was done by Santa Anna, leaving California virtually abandoned, hanging onto Old Mexico by the slenderest thread.

"California at that time was one of the most remote places on earth, best reached from Mexico by sea, and so hard to supply that Spanish and later Mexican garrisons on the coast did not have enough gun powder to return the salutes of visiting ships."

During the Mexican War the Californios briefly contested American forces in the field, engaging in several skirmishes and winning one short battle in Southern California known as the Battle at San Pascua. Another brief encounter, the "Battle of the Old Woman's Gun," illustrates how badly the Mexican government had neglected California's defense, and why Mexico had in essence forfeited its claim to the possession of that distant province. Drastically short of artillery and gun powder, the Californios hastily retrieved an old cannon that had once been used to fire salutes on the town square. The gun had lain buried for some time in the garden of an elderly lady. The soldiers dug it up, cleaned it, rigged an apparatus to make the once discarded piece mobile, and fired it at the Americans with homemade gun powder ignited with a cigarette.

Vallejo, a man of liberal convictions, eventually came to advocate the American cause. He later served as a member of the convention that drew up the state constitution. He also donated land from his vast estate for a new city that he hoped would become the state

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capital. That city, on the Carquinez Strait, bears his name today. Vallejo's brother Salvador had been a captain in the Mexican army and had fought Indians under the Mexican flag. During the Civil War he was commissioned a major in the Union army and saw service in Arizona.

Californio General Andres Pico, victor of the brief battle of San Pascua, had signed the Treaty of Cahuenga with the American commander John C. Fremont that ended the hostilities. Afterwards Pico became an assemblyman in the legislature and was active in establishing the borders of the new state. During the Civil War he offered to raise a regiment in California to fight on the side of the Union. He was deeply disappointed when the federal government turned down his offer because of the cost of transporting the regiment of cavalry to the theater of war on the other side of the continent.

California prospered under American rule, and commerce in Santa Fe was greatly enhanced by unrestricted access to the American market. The impact of change of sovereignty was minimal in Arizona where the population had been so small that it could not provide a base for economic development. And there was no Mexican population at all in the vast region to the north that had been claimed by Spain and later by its Mexican successor but which was too remote for either to develop. Americans were the first to populate and develop that region and to bring civil administration to it in the form of the states of Colorado, Utah and Nevada.

Texas, however, was another matter. In 1821, just before Mexican independence, the Spanish government made a belated attempt to secure that vast empty wilderness against possible competitors. The government sent a few settlers from northern Mexico and the Canary Islands to establish three tiny villages in the eastern part of the territory. By 1821 there were only about 2,000 whites and Metizos in the province. In order to promote development, the Spanish government granted Steven Austin certain concessions which included provisions for the immigration of American settlers. By 1835 there was a sizable Anglo-American population in Texas holding Mexican citizenship and calling themselves Texicans.

"In 1824 Mexico became a federal republic with a constitution modeled in part on that of the United States. When in 1835 Santa Anna abolished the federal system the Texicans rebelled."

In 1824 Mexico became a federal republic with a constitution modeled in part on that of the United States. When in 1835 Santa Anna abolished the federal system the Texicans rebelled. The majority at that time did not favor independence. Their quarrel, they said, was not with the nation but with the sudden centralization of power in Mexico City in the hands of a dictator. It is significant that the flag that defiantly fluttered over the Alamo when Santa Anna's army approached for the kill was the red, white and green flag of Mexico embossed with the date of the liberal constitution, 1824.

By 1836 Santa Anna's popularity was beginning to wane. Seeing the chance to play the hero and strengthen his hand in the country, he conscripted an army mainly of Indians, shoddily equipped by corrupt contractors, and marched them north to teach Texas a lesson. The response in Texas was a declaration of independence. After massacring the small militia garrison of San Antonio at the old Franciscan Mission called the Alamo, and after annihilating another small garrison at the town of Goliad, Santa Anna advanced to the San Jacinto River where he was met by an army of eight hundred Texans. The Mexican army was over twice the size of the Texas force but was quickly overwhelmed when the Texans surprised them at siesta time. Six hundred Mexican soldiers were killed in the engagement and Santa Anna was taken prisoner while napping in his tent.

The defeated dictator was forced to recognize Texas independence, then permitted to return home where he wreaked further havoc on his battered country. The Texans applied for admission to the United States but due to tensions, which eventually

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resulted in the Civil War, had to wait ten years until 1846 before becoming a state. By that time the United States had made up its collective mind to spread its language and its laws all the way across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, a spirit known as manifest Destiny that helped sweep the United States into war with Mexico in 1846 over a border dispute in Texas between the two countries.

Texas was not the only part of Mexico that declared its independence during that period of misrule. Three years later in 1839 Yucatan in the far south seceded. Yucatan was soon plunged into violence when the native Maya Indian majority rebelled against the exploitative Mexican elite in what is known as the War of the Castes. Yucatan was so weakened by internal violence that in 1843 Mexican forces were able to retake the country. Three years later during the Mexican War Yucatan once more tried to assert its independence as did several states in the northern part of that chaotic country.

"The Mexicans who live in the American Southwest today have nothing to do with that by-gone era. They are simply immigrants from a foreign country..."

General Winfield Scott, commander of the American army that occupied the Mexican capital, was asked by some of the prominent people of that city to remain as president. And in the 1860s Prince Maximilian von Habsburg, brother of Franz Joseph emperor of Austro-Hungary, was invited by Mexicans weary of chaos to become their emperor hoping that a European ruler might bring stability and prosperity to the nation. The Habsburg prince accepted, bringing with him French troops supplied by Emperor Louis Napoleon of France. Maximilian was eventually deposed by Mexican insurgents with aid from the United States government, and the cycle of democracy and dictatorship that has characterized Mexican history continued.

History thus reveals Mexico as a country that proved incapable of maintaining order, of operating proper civil government, of administering justice and of promoting economic prosperity. Instead Mexico in the nineteenth century was characterized by dictatorship, venality, mismanagement, exploitation and poverty from which the far northern fringe settlements escaped when Texas became independent in 1836 and the rest of the Southwest became part of the United States in1848.

As for the tiny Mexican population living in those territories, some of them did well under American rule while others did not. All, however, have long since been assimilated into the American population. The Mexicans who live in the American Southwest today have nothing to do with that by-gone era. They are simply immigrants from a foreign country who began their massive migration across the border in the 1980s, newcomers who have no more a claim on the land than did the Irish, German and Chinese immigrants who came before them. Yet unlike those earlier immigrants the Mexican newcomers do not have to navigate an ocean to get here. All they have to do is to step across a land border that stretches two thousand miles across the continent over which they are coming in ever increasing numbers every day. Also, unlike earlier immigrants, this wave has for the most part violated American law by coming here illegally. Also unlike their predecessors they potentially challenge the sovereignty of the United States and the culture of the people who constitute the American nation – attitudes clearly revealed in the song sung with such defiance by the *Tigres del Norte*.

Some might say, "Lighten up. It's just a song." Indeed it is, yet a song that goes well beyond a few lyrics and a melody to narrate a political myth held by millions of Mexicans, actively encouraged in Mexico, and expressed in a manner that would be considered racist and xenophobic if sung by Americans in reference to Mexicans. Moreover those many immigrants who believe this political myth are quietly concentrating in rapidly growing numbers in the Southwest, creating a situation in a large part of the country that has never before been seen in American immigration history. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paving the Way to Aztlan

With propaganda, politics, racism

by Linda Bentley

AZTLÁN – What was and where was Aztlán? The *Arizona Republic* fielded a similar question under their *Science Q & A*. Dan Kincaid responded: "Aztlán was the legendary original home of the Aztec Indians ... Aztlán, which means literally 'Place of the Herons' in their Náhuatl language..." Kincaid goes on to say:

> *...the Aztecs believed their ancestors migrated in stages from Aztlán, reaching central Mexico about A.D. 1200. An Aztec subgroup, the Tenochas founded their capital, Tenochtitlán, in 1325 on an island in Lake Texcoco after seeing an eagle perched on a cactus and devouring a rattlesnake.*

The New York University Press states:

> *Aztlán was the mythical place of origin in some Aztec traditions, a lake with an island in the middle that was replicated when the wandering Mexica settled at Tenochtitlan. The word Aztec is derived from this mythical place.*

Another University in Buffalo, New York claims, "Aztlán is the Aztec name for their ancestral place of origin located, according to an old legend, somewhere in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean," citing that it corresponds geographically to Atlantis, as described in Plato's works, *Critias* and *Timaeus*.

However, in a Hispanic Studies textbook, *The Mexican American Heritage* by East Los Angeles high school teacher Carlos Jimenez, Aztlán is depicted on page 84 in a redrawn map of Mexico and the United States, showing Mexico with one third more territory. On page 107, Jimenez states, "Latinos are now realizing that the powers to control Aztlán may once again be in their hands."

The textbook teaches high-school students that Mexico is supposed to regain the states of Colorado, California, Arizona, Texas, Utah, New Mexico, Oregon and parts of Washington and that they rightly belong to the "mythical" homeland of Aztlán.

The book contains no references or footnotes and teaches separatism, victimization and nationalism, while promoting an open border policy.

Chicano Student Movement

The myth of Aztlán is heavily promoted through MEChA club meetings at college campuses across the nation, rapidly gaining acceptance at high school campuses as well. MEChA stands for Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán or Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán. Their logo depicts an eagle holding a stick of dynamite.

Once a patriotic organization that emphasized the importance of citizenship, the League of United Latin American Citizens now supports the theory that Hispanics have been victimized by white people, and are staunch proponents of illegal immigration.

The preamble of MEChA's National Constitution states:

***Linda Bentley** is a reporter with the* Sonoran News, *Cave Creek, Arizona. This article is from the June 11-17, 2003 issue, Vol. 9, No. 24.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicano and Chicana students of Aztlán must take upon themselves the responsibilities to promote Chicanismo within the community, politicizing our Raza with an emphasis on indigenous consciousness to continue the struggle for self-determination of the Chicano people for the purpose of liberating Aztlán.

The University of Arizona MEChA Chapter's website states: "The following documents are essential to the philosophy of MEChA. Every Mechista should be familiar with them." Listed along with their National Constitution is "El Plan de Santa Barbara" and "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán" which opens with:

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage but also of the brutal "gringo" invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows, and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the bronze continents.

Preaching prejudice, racism, hatred and anti-Semitism

La Voz de Aztlán is a bilingual online news service published from Los Angeles (Whittier), "Alta California" that claims to be "focused on news events that are relevant to La Raza in Aztlán, Mexico and beyond." They say that they also publish their own "unique analysis of world events and contemporary issues through editorials, commentary and political cartoons."

Publisher Hector Carreon and Editor-in-Chief Ernesto Cienfuegos definitely have a unique spin on events and issues. It is commonly known as racism and anti-Semitism.

One of Cienfuegos' editorials is titled: "The 'Kosher Nostra Scam' on the American Consumer."

Cienfuegos said of their research, "What we found certainly was 'news' to us and it both shocked and angered us."

After becoming educated in the various kosher symbols on food packaging, Cienfuegos made the statement,

I learned that major food companies throughout America actually pay a Jewish Tax amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars per year in order to receive protection. The scam is to coerce the companies to pay up or suffer consequences of a Jewish boycott.

He concludes with,

...I demand my money back for all I had to pay over the years for the hidden and illegal Jewish Tax. Are there any bright attorneys out there that could bring a class action suit against the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations on behalf of the citizens of Aztlán and other non-Jewish people?

Carreon wrote an editorial called: "Shattered Identities: 'Malinchismo' as a Dissociative Identity Disorder Caused by Ritual Racial Abuse."

He says,

To understand how these personality types may come about, we can refer to recent history involving the Jews during their traumatic "Nazi Holocaust Period!" The German Jews had their own "Vendidos" and "House Niggers" called "Judenrat" and "Kapos."

Carreon says that what they all have in common is that they have all identified with the dominant oppressors. According to Carreon, the beginnings of the micro-traumas and ritual racial abuse start in kindergarten when little Juanita is told by her "gringa" teacher not to speak Spanish. At lunch she becomes the victim of ridicule by her "gringo" peers when she has a burrito for lunch instead of a peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He claims Juanita grows up with "dismal self-esteem" and "self-hate" that could sentence her to a life of gangbanging and drugs. But then, he says Juanita can alternatively take a different personality direction, caused by the micro-traumas and ritual racial abuse, one that causes her to dissociate her identity as Juanita. She might develop such a shame that she changes her name to Jane, bleaches her hair blond and starts to take on characteristics of "Anglos."

Carreon says this is "merely a nuisance but can become dangerous to our community when 'Anglos' start using these personality types against us."

He then states,

Like the "Judenrat" in Nazi Germany, these "Malinchistas" will be utilized against us in political campaigns like the present one against Bilingual Education.

La Voz creates anti-Semitic correlations from ordinary news in article upon article. Their agenda promotes racism against all white people, especially Jews, and portrays all Hispanics as victims.

Creating Cultural Havoc

Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) Superintendent George F. Garcia's promotion of outcome-based education and special treatment toward Hispanic children did not sit well with a group of TUSD parents. They formed Arizona Parents for Traditional Education and petitioned Garcia and the governing board to return "back to the basics" education to TUSD, citing, "We do not want to replicate California's eight year mass experimentation and failure with outcome-based education."

"Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) Superintendent George F. Garcia's promotion of outcome-based education and special treatment toward Hispanic children did not sit well with a group of TUSD parents."

One parent, John Stevenson, wrote an open letter to Garcia, responding to a front-page article in the *Tucson Citizen* where Garcia called for special classes and special help for Hispanic students.

Stevenson said,

Under the constitution of the United States it is incumbent on all government agencies to treat all citizens equally. It is unconstitutional for any government agency in the U.S. to single out any racial group for special favors, nor should they single out any other racial group to suffer as a result. This action is blatant racial bigotry.

Stevenson continued,

In addition to racial bigotry, Mr. Garcia, you foster cultural terrorism. When you allow special consideration based on race, it builds lifetime resentment in the others. You, in effect, teach the others to hate those who you make privileged.

When you teach a selected race so that it requires your special help, you also teach them that they are either genetically or culturally inadequate. You try to modify that by teaching them that the only reason they need this help is because the white community abuses them.

Stevenson said Garcia's actions could be "construed as fraudulent and perhaps even traitorous" as his acceptance of the public's money, earmarked "to prepare children for their adult place in society," is, instead, being used by Garcia to bring about ideological change, using children to promote his vision of a socialist society.

"... one must suspect that this is a deliberate process. One designed to create cultural havoc," Stevenson wrote.

He ended his letter "Please, sir, I beg you, resign from your job immediately and save the community from further damage."

That was back in August 1996. Garcia didn't resign. It wasn't until four years later that Garcia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

left.

Still posted as one of the goals of the TUSD Hispanic Studies curriculum: "Establish and nurture educational and community partnerships by taking an active role in advocating for Hispanic concerns and issues."

Political Influence

State Representative John A. Loredo (D-District 22), who was first elected in 1996, then re-elected in 1998 and 2000, attended Phoenix College, where he first became involved in politics. He was elected president of MEChA and he was the first President-Founding Member of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) Young Adult Council. He worked with Cesar Chavez organizing marches, rallies and boycotts. His first political campaign was the "NO on 106 (English Only)" committee.

He served on an Ad Hoc Committee on Border Issues and on the Farmworker Affordable Housing Study Committee. He served on the Executive Board for the National Hispanic Caucus of State Legislators and as a board member of Friendly House, one of the four nonprofit organizations that was chosen to run the Palomino Day Worker Center in Phoenix.

Another organization that runs the day laborer center is Tonatierra. The Tonatierra Community Development Institute proclaims its location as Nelhuayotl, Aztlán, although they use a Phoenix PO Box for their mail.

Day workers are "forced to stand on street corners and suffer the scorn of a society which utilizes them to clean their houses."

Tonatierra's coordinator, Salvador Reza, was born in Chihuahua, Mexico. His family moved to Ysleta, Texas when his father, a farm worker, was granted a work permit under the bracero program. Reza sees himself as a victim of racism, stemming back to his days in kindergarten.

After graduating from the University of California, San Diego, Reza began working for immigrant advocacy groups. He says he came to Phoenix because he believes it is the center of Aztlán, the original land of the Aztecs before they migrated south to Mexico. Of all the stories about where Aztlán might have been, Reza is the only one who believes its center is in Phoenix.

Reza, one of the major lobbyists for the Palomino Day Worker Center in Phoenix, was quoted in an interview as saying that jornaleros, or day workers, are "forced to stand on street corners and suffer the scorn of a society which utilizes them to clean their houses."

One of Tonatierra's initiatives was the Macehualli Project, to organize the hundreds of day laborers in Phoenix. Reza believes the Macehualli Union de Jornaleros (Day Laborers Union) will achieve justice and dignity through the establishment of day labor centers.

Tonatierra and Reza's goals go far beyond the day laborer centers he wishes to create throughout the city. He is pushing for increased Latino political representation and expanding the Xinachtil Program (Xinachtil means "seed" in the Aztec language) in the public school system to teach "traditions, culture, art and science of indigenous people."

Immigrant advocacy groups no longer promote legal immigration, citizenship, learning English or any other assimilation into this country. Hispanic-rights groups talk of reoccupation and repatriation of the southwestern United States, the land of "indigenous people."

Demographic Warfare

In Tucson, Pima County Legal Defender Isabel Garcia, co-chair

"Immigrant advocacy groups no longer promote legal immigration, citizenship, learning English or any other assimilation into this country. Hispanic-rights groups talk of reoccupation and repatriation of the southwestern U.S."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Derechos Humanos (Human Rights), promotes open borders and illegal immigration, proclaiming: "No human is illegal." She denounces the same laws she is hired to uphold, and does so on taxpayers' money.

The Pima County Board of Supervisors claim Garcia can do whatever she likes during her own time.

Garcia, along with co-chair Jose Lerma, has recently been selected to serve on a 100-member council created by Mexico's government to represent Mexicans living in the United States. Their main duty is to advise the Mexican government on the needs of the approximately 9-10 million Mexican natives residing in this country ... about half legally and half illegally.

The concept of reoccupation is not new. The term was used in an official study done by the Mexican Government's National Council on Population (Conapo).

Conapo's study predicts that during Mexican President Vicente Fox's six year term, ending in 2006, two million Mexicans will enter the United States at the approximate rate of 380,000 per year.

The study also indicates that the Mexican government has embraced the concept of "demographic warfare," a re-conquering of the southwestern United States through unchecked illegal immigration and by exporting Mexico's "surplus poverty" to regain control.

Mexican novelist Elena Poniatowska was quoted in Mexico's EWE news service as having said,

> *Mexico is at the moment recovering territories it lost in the past to the United States thanks to emigration (sic). The common people – the poor, the dirty, the lice ridden, the cockroaches are advancing on the United States, a country that needs to speak Spanish because it has 33.5 million Hispanics who are imposing their culture.*

Mexican columnist Carlos Loret de Mola explained Mexico's "demographic warfare" strategy in Mexico's newspaper, the *Excelsior*, over twenty years ago.

Loret's article, "The Great Invasion: Mexico Recovers on its Own," described the strategy:

> *A peaceful mass of people ... carries out slowly and patiently an unstoppable invasion, the most important in human history. You cannot give me a similar example of such a large migration wave by an ant-like multitude, stubborn, unarmed, and carried on in the face of the most powerful and best-armed nation on earth ... [Neither] barbed-wire fences, nor aggressive border guards, nor campaigns, nor laws, nor police raids against the undocumented, have stopped this movement of the masses that is unprecedented in any part of the world.*

Loret describes a migrant invasion that continues and that will return the southwestern states to the jurisdiction of Mexico, "...without the firing of a single shot, nor requiring the least diplomatic action, by means of a steady, spontaneous, and uninterrupted occupation."

The effects of what Loret said then were already apparent in Los Angeles, which he called "the second largest Mexican city in the world."

MEChA promotes an ultimate ideology to liberate Aztlán. Four of the main Hispanic pressure groups, LULAC, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the National Council of La Raza (La Raza) and MEChA, are united in their main objectives. They promote an agenda of racial and ethnic consciousness.

They all want more immigration of their own people into the United States. They want to stop deportation of illegal aliens and want to provide American citizen's rights, including the right to vote, to non-citizens. They promote Spanish as the official language in areas dominated by Hispanics. They believe that Americans must assimilate to Hispanic culture and language. They believe this is already their land and have no need to become citizens, learn English or assimilate in any way. By proclaiming the southwestern United States, Aztlán, they believe all those of Hispanic decent are already citizens.

It appears that anyone who disagrees with that agenda is considered a racist. Author Michelle Malkin, who is of Filipino decent, disagrees ... she

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

too has been branded a racist.

In the 1950s, the LULAC recognized English as the official language of the United States, emphasized the importance of citizenship, supported immigration control and mass deportation of illegal aliens. They even began all of their meetings reciting the Pledge of Allegiance. Today, the LULAC supports the theory Hispanics are victimized by white people.

"Mexicans" were counted separately, for the first time, during the 1930 Census. Because Texas was segregated, Mexicans felt they were losing their status as non-white and might face the same conditions as blacks.

"The Ford Foundation alone has poured millions of dollars in funding into organizations like La Raza and MALDEF."

The LULAC succeeded a few years later in having Mexicans recognized as "whites" again, and treated that way for segregation purposes.

Then, 40 years later, after affirmative action programs became available for blacks, the LULAC and La Raza lobbied successfully to be recognized as "non-whites" so that Mexicans would be recognized for racial preference purposes. They ebbed and flowed with identity, insisting they were white when there were advantages to being white. When benefits associated with being non-white surfaced, it was time to change color again.

In a letter to the editor (published in the March 12 edition of Sonoran News), LULAC President Samuel Esquivel wrote, "You are what I would characterize as a 'true racist.'"

Esquivel also stated,

> *I hear the complaining about illegal immigrants being the cause of all these bad things, but I don't hear nobody complaining about their lawns not being cut, their houses not being cleaned, dishes not being washed in restaurants, cars not being washed, houses not being built, etc. The bottom line is, if it were not for these so called illegal immigrants, who people like you take advantage of, you would not be living in the lap of luxury, as you are accustomed to living.*

Esquivel claims that any suggestion about upholding laws of this nation is just a means of hiding racist behavior.

Another letter, printed in the same edition, came from John Garrido, Chairman of the National Hispanic Coalition, in the process of forming. He states,

> *Long ago salsa replaced ketchup as America's number one condiment. As ketchup went by the wayside, those that attempt to diminish the values Hispanic Americans hold sacred will some day also go by the wayside.*

Illegal Alien Benefits

The Ford Foundation alone has poured millions of dollars in funding into organizations like La Raza and MALDEF.

And while MALDEF's Mario Obledo stated, "California is going to be a Hispanic state. Anyone who doesn't like it should leave," President Clinton awarded Obledo the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1998.

Immigrant rights organizations continue to lobby for special treatment toward Hispanics – bilingual education, affirmative action, mass immigration and more hate crime laws.

La Raza claims immigration control violates civil rights and that cutbacks in welfare and other benefits for illegal aliens is "a disgrace to American values."

The United States Government apparently believes, somehow, that "regularizing" illegal aliens from Mexico will get one party or the other elected, depending on who grants the "regularizing." They are most likely mistaken.

These groups claim to hate Americans and all that is American. However, they keep coming … coming to reclaim Aztlán.

And, government officials seem to be paving their way with benefits, amnesty and "rights," at citizens' expense. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Off-shoring in the Context of Globalization

by Herman E. Daly

Off-shoring is the latest step in the misguided rush toward global economic integration and away from internationalist federation embodied in the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions.

Globalization, considered by many to be the inevitable wave of the future, is frequently confused with internationalization, but is in fact something totally different.

Internationalization refers to the increasing importance of international trade, international relations, treaties, protocols, alliances, etc. International, of course, means between or among nations. The basic unit of community and policy remains the nation, even as relations among nations become increasingly necessary and important.

Globalization refers to global economic integration of many formerly national economies into one global economy, mainly by free trade and free capital mobility, but also by easy or uncontrolled migration. It is the effective erasure of national boundaries for economic purposes.

The word "integration" derives from "integer," meaning one, complete, or whole. Integration is the act of combining into one whole. Since there can be only one whole, only one unity with reference to which parts are integrated, it follows that global economic integration logically implies national economic disintegration. By disintegration I do not mean that the productive plant of each country is annihilated, but rather that its parts are torn out of their national context (dis-integrated), in order to be "re-integrated" into the new whole, the globalized economy. As the saying goes, to make an omelet you have to break some eggs. The disintegration of the national egg is necessary to integrate the global omelet. It is dishonest to celebrate the latter without acknowledging the former.

No one is arguing for isolationism. Of course the world is highly interdependent, but interdependence is to integration as friendship is to marriage. It is hard enough for nations to be friends, and is utterly foolish to attempt multilateral marriage. A necessary condition for friendship is a healthy respect for differences, for boundaries. All of this points to internationalization, not globalization.

Off-shoring is part of the disintegration of the national economy that is implicit in globalization. We no longer have U.S. capital and U.S. labor cooperating to produce U.S. goods to compete in a world market against, say, Chinese goods produced by Chinese labor and Chinese capital. Instead we have formerly U.S. · but now transnational capital moving to China to produce a product with cheap Chinese labor for sale in the U.S.. This is great for a few capitalists, but all capitalists cannot continue to depend on U.S. purchasing power to sell their products without contributing to U.S. purchasing power by employing U.S. labor. Say's law says that in the process of production factors are paid an amount equal to the value of the product – the incomes generated by production are sufficient to buy the product. There is a circular flow from expenditure to income to expenditure, etc. – depicted in the first chapter of every economics principles textbook. But if factors in China receive the income generated by production of goods sold in the U.S., then the circular flow is broken, and U.S. incomes will eventually not be

***Herman E. Daly, Ph.D.**, professor in the School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, College Park, is a former economist with the World Bank.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sufficient to purchase the new imports plus remaining domestic production. The Chinese income generated by off-shoring will mostly be spent in China, not on U.S. exports, and not on the goods that the off-shoring capitalist is producing in China specifically for the U.S. market. The U.S. ends up with less employment and a larger trade deficit. China ends up with more employment and a trade surplus. That surplus can be used to purchase assets in the U.S., whose future earnings will go to China, not the U.S. It may well be that the gains to China are greater than the losses to the U.S., but that is certainly not the mutual benefit promised by traditional free trade based on comparative advantage.

If capital is internationally mobile competition will force it to seek absolute advantage, and one country will lose jobs and income, while another gains. Although there would be an increase in world production, we would no longer necessarily be achieving a better outcome for each nation. Specialization and trade according to comparative advantage, as envisioned by free trade, is a clever second-best strategy for the capitalist who, for whatever reason, cannot invest abroad. If he could invest abroad he would simply follow the rule of absolute advantage and never even think about comparative advantage. This is the reality in today's globalized economy, where from the point of view of the capitalist, China and the U.S. are just different regions of the same integrated global economy, not national communities serving their own distinct public interests.

China seems quite capable of looking out for its own national interests. The U.S., on trade issues at least, seems rather muddled about whether it is even a nation.

Jobs Data Show U.S. is Outsourcing Its Future

by Paul Craig Roberts

Conservative pundits are incautiously hailing the 277,000 private sector jobs created by the economy in March as the long awaited "jobs turnaround." Alas, the BLS payroll survey indicates a continuation of the jobs malaise.

A look at the composition of the 277,000 jobs reveals that job growth occurred in sectors that do not generate export earnings or face import competition. Construction accounted for 71,000 of the new jobs; retail 47,000; health care and social assistance 39,000; restaurants and bars 27,000; professional and technical services 27,000; administrative and waste services 17,000, repair, maintenance and laundry services 12,000; wholesale 11,000; warehousing and storage 7,000; logging and mining 7,000; financial activities 6,000; air transportation 3,000.

In goods production other than domestic construction, the economy remains dead in the water: manufacturing jobs, zero; semiconductors and electronic components, zero; communications equipment, zero; computer and peripheral equipment, zero; textile mills, zero; paper, zero; chemicals, zero; primary metals, -1,000; transportation equipment, -1,000; electrical equipment and appliances, -2,000.

This is not a profile of a high-tech knowledge-based economy. It is not even the profile of a low-tech developing economy.

It is the profile of an economy in serious trouble. Where are the jobs for skilled workers or jobs for university graduates in engineering or jobs in R&D for scientists? Where are the jobs in export and import-competitive sectors to close the massive U.S. trade deficit?

On April 2, the day the March jobs report was released, research

---

***Paul Craig Roberts** is a syndicated columnist.* *©2004 by Creators Syndicate. Reprinted by permission.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

economist Charles W. McMillion reported in *Manufacturing & Technology News* that "the superiority the United States has held in technology trade has suddenly vanished."

For the first time on record, during the last half of 2003 the U.S. ran a trade deficit in advanced technology products and services! As recently as 1997 the U.S. had a $60 billion trade surplus in technology goods and services.

"The U.S. technology deficit with China is almost five times larger than the U.S. technology deficit with Japan. These facts do not reconcile with the reassurances from pundits that the U.S. has nothing to fear from China, allegedly a low-tech producer of textiles and shoes."

The new millennium brought an acceleration in the outsourcing of technology jobs. Dr. McMillion reports that the U.S. has had a deficit in advanced technology products with China since 1995 and an overall deficit in technology goods and services trade with China since 1999. The U.S. technology deficit with China is almost five times larger than the U.S. technology deficit with Japan.

These facts do not reconcile with the reassurances from pundits that the U.S. has nothing to fear from China, allegedly a low-tech producer of textiles and shoes.

Recently, the American public has been deceived by a spate of "studies" sponsored by offshore platforms and by interest groups that benefit from outsourcing. These propaganda exercises purport to show that Americans benefit from outsourcing.

Where is the benefit for Americans when the U.S. economy cannot create jobs in export and import-competitive industries in order to close the massive trade deficit?

Where is the benefit for Americans when dollar devaluation drives up energy prices?

Where is the benefit for Americans of losing the lead in advanced technology products?

Where is the benefit for Americans of declining U.S. enrollments in electrical engineering and computer science?

Where is the benefit for Americans of having their human capital destroyed when they are replaced by cheap foreign labor?

Economists who are not up-to-date trade specialists are far behind the latest knowledge when they proclaim that all these developments must be good for America, because they are the results of free trade. In the latest work in trade theory, Ralph E. Gomory and William J. Baumol build on earlier research and demonstrate that a country's gains in productive capability can worsen the positions of its trading partners.

Their work has definite implications for trade policy. Not only can a country with a successful trade policy capture industries from a free trade country, but also a country that transfers its high-tech occupations and production abroad in order to lower the cost of producing for its domestic markets is reducing its own capability while increasing that of a competitor.

The notion that the U.S. can base production offshore and still come out ahead flies in the face of everything we know about economic development.

Some pundits have the mistaken impression that foreign direct investment in the U.S. renders offshoring concerns pointless. With so much foreign capital pouring into the U.S., how could the U.S. economy be any but the best?

The answer is that 95 percent of foreign direct investment during 1999-2002 (the last four years for which data are currently available) was used to acquire existing U.S. assets and their future income streams.

We are paying for our dependence on imported goods by turning over the ownership of our economy to foreigners. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Right Way to Go?

Twenty defenses of off-shoring and why they are wrong

by Ian Fletcher

Defenders of offshoring keep repeating bad arguments: keep this article handy and you can catalogue them by number. Sometimes, they don't even give rational arguments, just slick puffery about the wonderfulness of capitalism, technology, and trade, often combined with insinuations about offshoring's opponents. They are masters of question-ducking, subject-changing, and deliberately mis-framing the opposing position. But their arguments usually boil down to one of the following:

#1. 'Offshoring is inevitable.'

If it is inevitable, why do its proponents feel the need to defend it? Because it is no more inevitable than Medicare. If the government banned or taxed it, it would end or decline. If the government stopped covertly subsidizing it through the tax code, it wouldn't grow as fast.

#2: 'We have free trade in goods, so we should have it in services.'

Free trade in goods is itself a debatable position, not a home truth. Cutting-edge economics, like the work of William Baumol, has been chipping away at the free-trade consensus for years.

"Defenders of offshoring keep repeating bad arguments."

And the purpose of public policy isn't logical consistency but the public good. We should evaluate whether free trade in the services that are being offshored is good for us, not just do it because we do something similar with trade in goods.

#3: 'Offshoring is a minor phenomenon.'

Not for long; it's just getting started. Yes, it has only cost America five percent of our tech jobs today, but offshoring is estimated *by its proponents* to be growing at around 25 percent or so a year. A UC-Berkeley study estimates it will take 14 million or more jobs by 2015 (*The New Wave of Outsourcing*, Fisher Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics).

#4: 'Offshoring only costs us undesirable low-end jobs.'

This is an elitist argument for the millions of Americans who would rather work at a call center or in the bottom rungs of the computer industry than go unemployed or work at Wal-Mart. And it just isn't true: jobs paying $80-100,000 per year are now getting offshored, the very cream of the job market for ordinary Americans.

#5: 'America will always keep the best jobs.'

This is just arrogance on our part. Is the rest of the world stupid enough to stay at the bottom of the economic food chain forever? Yeah, and Japan will only ever make plastic knick-knacks. The kind of ultra-high-end technology jobs where America really is better than anyone else do exist, but they are a relatively small part of our labor force. We can't all be Ph.D.s from MIT.

#6: 'Better education will protect American workers against offshoring.'

Although better education is always good for people's economic chances, it just isn't enough anymore when even college-educated Americans are competing against college-educated foreigners who earn one-tenth to one-quarter what they do.

***Ian Fletcher** is Vice-President for Government Relations of the American Engineering Association. He may be reached at* ianfletcher@aea.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And for the half of all Americans who won't go to college, it's even worse.

#7: 'Higher productivity will protect American workers against wage differentials.'

This was true in 1950, when the vast infrastructure required to make General Motors work could not be replicated in the Third World at a feasible cost. But nowadays, thanks to the Internet and other innovations, a computer company in India or Russia can use the exact same hardware and software as an American company, train its workers from the same manuals, and get the same productivity. The only difference is in wages; any productivity advantage Americans enjoy is eroding fast.

#8: 'Wages in other nations will catch up to ours, so they won't be a threat.'

This will take, even on optimistic assumptions, at least a generation, given that wages in competing nations are rising a few percentage points a year and the gap between them and ourselves is so large. Do we want to sacrifice American workers for forty years?

#9: 'Offshoring will help bring down the cost of goods and lower inflation.'

But inflation is low already and the Fed is worrying about deflation. There are few jobs that some foreigner somewhere won't do cheaper than an American, so it is true that in the short run, considering only the item in question, having that item produced by a foreigner is usually cheaper. But in the long run, this results in un-employing or driving down the wages of Americans, meaning that the cost of goods relative to American salaries doesn't go down.

#10: 'American companies need offshoring to stay competitive.'

Not if we don't allow competitors using cheap labor to produce for the American market they don't. If America stakes its competitiveness on cheap labor, this can have only one result. The race to the bottom is not a race we want to win.

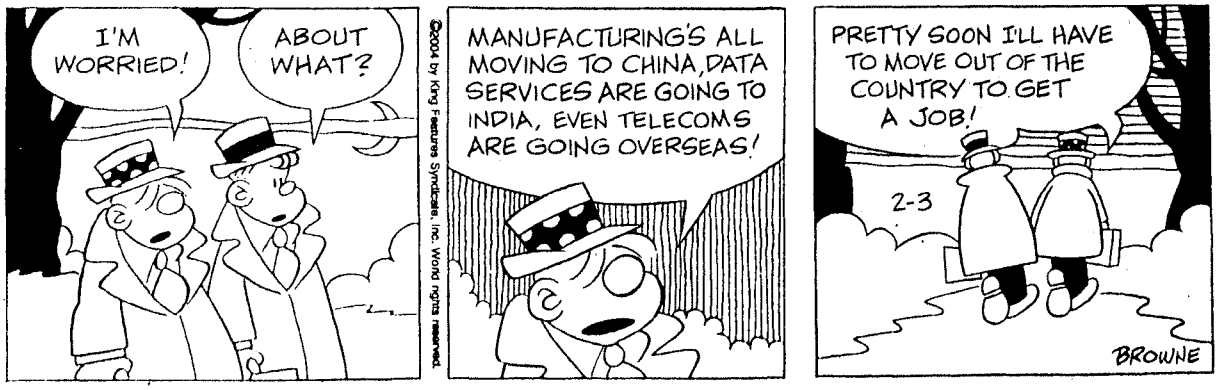
#11: 'People who oppose offshoring are losers/ Luddites/ Naderites/ Buchananites.'

False: look around you at an anti-offshoring meeting and you'll see ordinary Americans who are concerned about their futures. And irrelevant: Even if some political extremists oppose offshoring, that doesn't make it bad public policy, as policies must be judged on their merits, not their lunatic fringe. And name-calling isn't debate.

#12: 'The free market will eventually solve this problem.'

Sure, but there's no guarantee it will solve it in our favor: free markets promote efficiency, but they don't guarantee the standard of living of any one nation. The global market doesn't intrinsically care about America any more than about Timbuktu. Yes, American wages can eventually decline to the point where we reach equilibrium with foreign nations, but this would happen at the price of a steep decline in our standard of living.

#13: 'A decline in the dollar will eventually solve this problem.'


I'M WORRIED!
ABOUT WHAT?
©2004 by King Features Syndicate, Inc. World rights reserved.
MANUFACTURING'S ALL MOVING TO CHINA, DATA SERVICES ARE GOING TO INDIA, EVEN TELECOMS ARE GOING OVERSEAS!
PRETTY SOON I'LL HAVE TO MOVE OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO GET A JOB!
2-3
BROWNE

HI AND LOIS by Greg Browne. © King Features Syndicate, Inc. Used by permission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At what cost? If the dollar falls by half or more, this will radically increase the cost of imports, reducing our standard of living and sending a massive inflationary shock like the oil shock through our economy. And can the dollar really fall far enough to make $17/hr American workers competitive with ¥1/hr workers abroad?

#14: 'The money that goes abroad in offshoring gets recycled back to the U.S.'

This is just a way of saying it's okay to buy services from foreigners because they will turn around and buy from us. Trouble is, that's empirically false, as there's a half-trillion-dollar deficit between U.S. exports and U.S. imports right now. Foreigners don't have to recycle their dollars into buying job-creating exports from us; they can sell us debt or buy up American assets instead. We are selling off the country to pay foreigners to do our work for us.

#15: 'Fighting offshoring is class warfare.'

America has to defend its character as a fundamentally middle-class society or we will lose it – nothing Marxist about it. And economic interests on the other side of this question don't seem to show any squeamishness about defending their interests.

#16: 'Fighting offshoring is anti-capitalist.'

The health of American capitalism as a whole is not identical with the desires of its multinational corporations. America is historically the most capitalist country in the world because American workers have felt confident of their economic futures. Take this away and they won't vote that way anymore. And has anyone noticed that some offshoring proponents actually support an expansion of the welfare state to buy off its victims?

"Foreigners don't have to recycle their dollars into buying job-creating exports from us; they can sell us debt or buy up American assets instead. We are selling off the country to pay foreigners to do our work for us."

#17: 'Fighting offshoring is un-American.'

Re-read your American history. We have had various forms of protectionism for most of our history, going back to Alexander Hamilton and only really ending during the Cold War, when we opened our markets to the world to buy them off communism.

#18: 'Fighting offshoring is anti-technology.'

On the contrary: fighting offshoring helps conserve America's technological base. How can we be a major technology power without technology workers? Or if our technology infrastructure is moved overseas? How can we get kids to major in technology disciplines in college if they see all the jobs going abroad?

#19: 'There are no military or security implications.'

Offshoring puts critical parts of our technology infrastructure into the hands of hostile nations such as China. Even offshoring to nations currently friendly to America is no guarantee of their future foreign policy. Offshoring builds up the technological know-how of hostile states while it depletes our own technology base. Hard distinctions between militarily significant and insignificant technologies are impossible to maintain.

#20: 'There are no labor or environmental implications.'

Nations to which work is being outsourced use lower environmental and labor standards as part of their cost-competitive strategy. Worse, this tends to punish American companies that try to do the right thing.

What must be done?

In the short run, we should have an emergency ban on offshoring. Next, America must rethink its entire trade policy and place regulation of offshoring within a coherent overall approach. What can you do? Join the American Engineering Association or a similar group reflecting your own interests today. We're lobbying on this issue. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Immigration to Canada Now That We've Grown

By John Meyer

Thiry years ago immigration to Canada was given it's broadest examination in a national context in the Green Paper. The economic studies forecast lower per capita income growth with higher rates of immigration. Public opinion surveys showed very strong support (2:1) for a moderate population size and for very low levels of immigration.

Despite the clear delineation of public interest and public will for a balanced level of immigration which would have seen Canada's population stabilize at around 27 million, back room policy makers chose to implement the highest rate of immigration in the world.

Now three decades and five million additional people later, as predicted, Canada has under performed every other OECD country in per capita income growth as our productivity has been left in the dust by nations focused on investing in their people. After all, importing cheap labor "to do the dirty low paid jobs that Canadians reject" was a policy designed to perpetuate low paying jobs and their inherent low productivity and poor working conditions. It worked.

Canadians economic well-being stagnated or declined but in simple GDP growth terms – still used as our main social and economic barometer – the economy boomed. Our national policies reflect what we measure and although GDP represents only a fraction of the wealth creation process, much less social well-being, it is still our main yardstick.

Immigration is the engine of a rapid population growth strategy, unique in the world, that no one seems to be willing or able to explain. The Canadian level is twice as high as that of the U.S. and four times that of Europe. And Immigration Canada is working toward boosting levels even further by 50% to 320,000 annually with escalating levels forever as called for in the Liberal Party Red Book. Such a smoke stack era policy assumes unlimited natural resources and ignores any negative effects on a myriad of social and environmental issues.

Fulfilling Canada's Kyoto commitment to carbon emissions 6% less than our 1990 level would be possible if, by 2012, we had the 1990 population. But we won't. We will have seven million more consumers with a resource-intensive industrial base geared to building one additional Regina every year. By 2050, the Red Book level pushes Canada's population to 52 million and our carbon emissions to1230 mega tons – almost 2 ½ times our Kyoto target of 520.

"With our current annual level of immigration around 230,000 (much less 320,000), any commitment Canada makes to Kyoto is worthless."

With our current annual level of immigration around 230,000 (much less 320,000), any commitment Canada makes to Kyoto is worthless. But as one immigration policy maker remarked years ago, "The environment is not our responsibility."

And neither, it appears are stagnant per capita incomes or the deficits/program cuts that result from a cheap labor economy. Boosting hundreds of thousands of people into more productive, higher paying jobs would increase per capita income, reduce deficits and bolster social programs. But creating millions of low paying jobs, as Canada has demonstrated, makes it impossible to both balance budgets and maintain full social programs. An

John Meyer is a Canadian businessman and a past-president of ZPG-Canada (Zero Population Growth).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expanding pool of cheap labor fuels deficits as well as simple GDP growth.

It is safe to say Canadians want reduced working hours, higher incomes, longer vacations, more family time, cleaner air, less congestion, lower crime rates, and a full slate of social programs. High immigration impacts none of these areas positively. Knowing what we are measuring, looking down the road and developing integrated policies are core competencies for a democratic government – as is keeping a full set of books. Despite this, the impact of mass immigration on environment and deficits has never been officially examined, and for good reason; comprehensive analysis is not flattering. Immigration stands unchallenged, unscrutinized and unaccountable.

Where does the current policy come from? Follow the money. Cheap labor employers are supported by huge indirect subsidies and mass immigration makes markets for land speculators. The immigration lobby shouldn't be allowed to control immigration policy any more than the tobacco industry should be allowed to write health legislation.

Canada has matured and with 32 million people and a rapid loss of prime farmland is most likely now a net food importer. Few of our resources are being used below their sustainable levels. When did we change our national vision from feeding the world to consuming it?

Thirty years after the Green Paper, we are no longer asking questions about immigration and are locked in a downward spiral of dumbed down social policy fronted by a very controlled, murky, and detached political process.

The world is entering an era of climate change and resource exhaustion as our apparently once stable environment goes dynamic. Yet Canada's accounting system remains cash flow-based and positively values events such as the Quebec ice storm, crime, paving farmland, and sitting in traffic because these events increase the level of paid economic activity. We need to progress to a real wealth accounting system which values both environmental assets and unpaid human time so we can forge comprehensive and socially relevant national policies – of which limits on immigration are an integral part. ■

A Collection of Writings
by Professor Albert A. Bartlett

The Essential Exponential!
For the Future of Our Planet

Published by the

Center for Science, Mathematics and Computer Education

University of Nebraska
Lincoln

Professor Albert A. Bartlett has been writing and lecturing on the importance of understanding the exponential function since the mid-1970s. He is known for his saying: "The greatest shortcoming of the human race is our inability to understand the exponential function."

More than 30 articles by Professor Bartlett along with articles by M. King Hubbert and L. David Roper are included in this new book along with tutorials on "The Arithmetic of Growth" and the 11-article series on "The Exponential Function" published in *The Physics Teacher* magazine from 1976 to 1996. The complete table of contents can be found at the Center website: www.unl.edu/scimath.

The Essential Exponential! (300 pages) will be available after June 1, 2004 at a cost of $25. Bulk prices are available.

The book can be ordered at the Center website noted above, or by contacting:

Ms. Brenda West
bwest1@unl.edu
or
(402) 472-9304

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Higham Revisited

Were immigration reform and nativism the same thing?

by Otis L. Graham, Jr.

What we think about immigration restriction, and the role of "nativism" in it, has been powerfully shaped by historian John Higham's *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism: 1860-1925* (1954), one of the brilliant and enduring volumes in American historiography of the past half century. But Higham's continuing second thoughts on the role of nativism in America have not been sufficiently heeded or discussed.

Higham, who died in 2003, traced what he saw as a nativist tradition through three outbursts of especially intense and well-organized anti-alien political activity – the 1790s, the Know-Nothing era before the Civil War, and the period of his main focus, the four decades prior to immigration restriction in the 1920s.

Higham seemed to cast the entire forty-year history of the New Immigration debate as in part a story of nativism – which he defined as "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign connection."

But were immigration reform and nativism the same thing?

Henry Cabot Lodge, a reformer in a restrictionist direction but a critic of those he saw as nativists, emphatically thought not. But historians writing after Higham and journalists following their lead have ignored the distinction.

In the years after *Strangers in the Land* was published, historians and journalists have tended to treat the cause of reforming immigration policy simply as an outbreak of nativism, essentially bigotry and fear of foreigners.

The cross-references under "nativism" in the index to Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimers' textbook *Ethnic Americans* (1988), for example, include "see also Bigotry, Discrimination, Prejudice."

Nativism, one way of reacting to mass immigration in the decades before the Civil War, thus came to be spread as a label over all subsequent criticisms of unlimited entry of foreigners into the United States, to the present day.

This is profoundly ahistorical. And the first dissenter was Higham.

Shortly after the publication of *Strangers in the Land* Higham published an article (1958) confessing:

> *that nativism now looks less adequate as a vehicle for studying the struggles of nationalities in America than my earlier report of it. ...The nativist theme, as defined and developed to date, is imaginatively exhausted.*

As a concept, he went on, it directs our attention too much to "subjective, irrational motives," and neglects and even screens out "the objective realities of ethnic relations" and "the structure of society." The word "nativism" derives from a particular era in American history, the 1830s to the mid-1850s, when the first large waves of immigration came to the eastern seaboard, mostly from Ireland and Germany. Eastern cities were swamped by incoming migrants from the rural hinterland and overseas, and life was hard for all. But the immigrants seemed to intensify all existing problems and bring new ones. In this era and during the Great

---

Otis L. Graham, Jr. *is Professor Emeritus (History), University of California, Santa Barbara, Visiting Scholar, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and author of the just-published book* Unguarded Gates: A History of America's Immigration Crisis. *This essay is reprinted by permission from www.VDare.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wave of the period from the 1880s to the 1920s, there was indeed "intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign connection." But the opposition and demand for limits was also based on real social costs imposed by the unregulated flow of people. It was "a bad habit," Higham reflected, to label "as nativist any kind of unfriendliness toward immigrants."

In the second edition of *Strangers in the Land* (1963), he stated that if he were writing the book again he would take more account of aspects of the immigration restriction movement that cannot be sufficiently explained in terms of nativism."

One part of the story of the 1880-1920 Great Wave's impact on America, nativism is an inadequate framework for understanding immigration reform politics in that period.

It is entirely misleading after the 1940s when nativism had eroded and "was all but finished" and had moved to the far fringes of American life, in the account of historian David Bennett, who followed nativism to its mid-century disappearance, as Higham had not.

And the larger framework in which to set mass immigration in any era must include the very real socioeconomic strains that these invariably generate.

Thus, economic historian Robert Fogel writes that the flood of immigrants arriving in America from 1841 to 1851, more than had come in the previous two centuries, "put severe downward pressure on wages and job opportunities. American workers suffered one of the most severe and protracted economic and social catastrophes of American history."

In New York, the city's population grew tenfold from 1800 to 1850. By 1850 half its residents were foreign-born and their proportion was growing twice as fast as the native born. New York's Irish were 30 percent of the population but accounted for 50 percent of arrests and 70 percent of indigent relief cases, while being heavily hit by infectious diseases.

"Xenophobia did not matter" in generating the restrictionist pressures of the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Harvard economic historians Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson went so far as to state in their exhaustive 1998 study of immigration's impacts.

The term "nativism" should thus be returned to its historical roots from its current pejorative application to anyone in modern America who seeks lower immigration numbers. It was one source, a century or more ago, of restrictionist sentiments that rested more substantially on labor market competition and a range of social disruptions. It has disappeared as an organized element in modern American life, and we would do well to respect Higham's advice that contemporary debates over immigration policy be conducted without anachronistic terminology. ■

WE OUTSOURCED OUR ENTIRE LABOR FORCE TO INDIA. THEN WE RELOCATED OUR HEADQUARTERS TO THE CAYMAN ISLANDS. IT MAKES ME PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN.
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PETER STEINER © 2004
The Washington Times

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vatican Capitulates!

Imagining a headline out of the future

by John H. Tanton

Vatican Capitulates!

Pope leaves for Avignon

St. Peter's converted to mosque

Background: Birthrates have fallen throughout Europe, but nowhere faster and further than in Italy. There the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) has declined to 1.2 – just about half of the (on average) 2.1 children per woman needed to replace the current generation and maintain the population. Since a generation spans about 25 years (the average age of first birth), the population of Italy can be expected to drop about one-half by 2030 from its current 57 million. It will continue on down to about a quarter by 2055 or so, if the TFR doesn't change.

At the same time the population will age dramatically. The UN projects that by 2020, 35% of the population will be over 65 years of age. This aging means it will be more difficult to restart the demographic engine should the Italians decide they want to survive as a people, since there will be fewer young people in the childbearing years.

In contrast, the nearby Muslim populations of Albania, North Africa and the Middle East are young and expanding rapidly. They are already moving into Europe in general, and Italy in particular, in massive and increasing numbers. Combining a shrinking and aging population with an expanding and youthful population sets the stage for demographic overthrow of the current Italian population.

This will likely be peaceful and gradual, rather like the story about the frog in the pot on the stove, the temperature of which is raised one degree a day. The frog finally finds itself cooked, without being able to pinpoint the exact day the change took place, and not feeling too much sudden discomfort along the way. There will be no need for fire and the sword this time, just patience for the numbers to play themselves out. In fact, violence would be counterproductive, as it would alert and activate the otherwise quiescent and declining native population and political system, as well as the overseas Italian diaspora.

To alert the Italians (and other members of Western Civilization) to this developing situation and likely outcome, I have chosen the literary technique of a Retrospective from the Future. The proposed setting is a television news report from Vatican City, on April 10, 2020. The purpose of this "prophesy" is the one common to all prophesy: not to predict the future, but to project the likely outcome of present behavior, so that it can be changed if the envisioned consequences are not acceptable. This is sometimes known as the "Jonah effect" (see the sidebar). Here are some of the elements of the storyline:

The program opens with a shot of a headline and story from the Vatican City newspaper, *L' Osservatore Romano*, datelined on one of the highest of holy days in the Roman Catholic Church – Good Friday. We then cut to an announcer, ubiquitous microphone in hand, addressing the camera, with St. Peter's Square and basilica in the background.

Reporter – "The Muslim population of Italy has grown to a majority, and they have staged a democratic demographic takeover of the government at the ballot box. The newcomers have insisted that the pope move his headquarters out of this newly-Muslim territory to what remains of the Christian world. He has accepted an invitation of the French government to set up at Avignon, as the popes did in the fourteenth Century. This area in the south of

John Tanton, M.D. *is publisher of* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Jonah Effect

Detractors of the population and environmental movements like to cite predictions of disaster that have not come to pass as evidence that the basic tenets of those movements are flawed. The critics thus show their misunderstanding of the role of the prophet in society — a role that is well-illustrated by the ancient tale of Jonah and the Whale.

The Lord called Jonah to go and prophesy the downfall of the sinful city of Nineveh. Despising Nineveh and its inhabitants, Jonah demurred and took to the sea in the opposite direction to evade the call. This resulted in his trip through the belly of the whale, after which Jonah decided that the Lord was really serious. Suspicious of God's mercy, Jonah went through the city and barely whispered his prophecy that the city would be destroyed if it did not mend its ways. He then retired to a spot overlooking the city to wait for the carnage.

To Jonah's dismay, the King took Jonah's prophecy to heart, repented in sackcloth and ashes and had his people do the same, with the result that the Lord was moved and spared the city.

The role of the prophet, then, is not to predict the future, but to show what will happen if we don't change our ways. The successful prophet is the one whose prophecy fails because it is taken to heart. His or her prophecy is truly self-defeating.

Those who criticize the "prophets" of the population and environmental movements fail to credit the prophet who changes the behavior of the people and allows them to deflect or minimize the projected disaster.

They would criticize Jonah because his prophecy failed to come true.

— John H. Tanton

France is already heavily Muslim, so it is not certain how long this arrangement will last."

The reporter continues, "Before leaving, the pope handed over the keys of St. Peter's to the Caliph of Baghdad. The Swiss Guard, on duty defending the Vatican for centuries, has struck the pope's flag and their replacement, the Muslim Brotherhood, has run up the Islamic crescent.

"As to St. Peter's itself, its impending conversion to a mosque parallels what happened to St. Sophia, the main Christian Orthodox Church in Istanbul, when that city was captured by Mehmed II in 1453. Initially it was made into a mosque, though subsequently it was converted into a museum, and remains one today. Incidentally, this is not a new or isolated phenomenon. There was also a St. Sophia Church in Nicosia, Cyprus, that suffered a similar fate in 1571. It is now the chief mosque for Cyprus.

"Since the Muslims do not believe in statuary (as we witnessed some time ago when the Taliban blew up ancient statues of the Buddha in Afghanistan), the pope asked to take along several sculpted emblems of his religion. The Caliph granted the pontiff, his party and effects, safe passage." [*Here the camera cuts to a scene showing the* Pieta *being crated for shipment.*]

"An agreement was also reached not to paint over Michelangelo's frescos in the Sistine Chapel, as was done with the ceiling mosaics when St. Sophia's in Istanbul was taken over. They were subsequently restored when, under Ataturk in 1935, the building became a museum."

Other ideas to be explored in a subsequent hour-long documentary on this epochal change:

1. Will there be a Charles Martel for our time? It was Martel and his troops who turned back the Muslims at the battle of Tours, France, in 732. Or who will be Western Civilization's Jan Sobieski, the Polish king who lifted the Muslim siege of Vienna in 1683? Or will the conquest this time roll on through the remainder of Europe, which also has marked sub-replacement fertility and is thus similarly susceptible?

2. There should be some retrospective on the past conflicts between Muslims and Christians, going back to the Crusades. (Who are the infidels this time?)

3. Current conflicts between Muslims and Christians, as in Indonesia, and between Muslims and the Jews should also be surveyed. One can project a similar demographic overwhelming of Israel, since the Muslim population of the Gaza Strip has the highest annual rate of increase of any area in the world: 4.4%, giving a doubling time of 16 years. On the West Bank, the rate is somewhat less at 3.3% (doubling time: about 21 years). As a result, the Judeo-Christian tradition stands to lose control of one or more of its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

holy sites in Palestine.

4. What will be the psychological effect on world Christianity of losing one of its shrines, this time in Rome itself? Will there be a call for some sort of new Crusade to retake the Vatican? What might be the nature of the effort, given UN and "world community" opinions and the opposition to inter- (versus intra-) national violence? Will this re-ignite demographic warfare as a means to control one's own territory? The works of Jack Parsons (*Human Population Competition*) and Milica Z. Bookman (*The Demographic Struggle for Power*) are relevant here. Both are available at www.thesocialcontract.com/bookstore.

5. It is likely that long before 2020 (perhaps due in part to diagnoses and prognoses such as this one) the Western World will awaken to its sub-replacement fertility dilemma, and make efforts to raise fertility rates toward or to replacement levels. How might this be done? What will be the effect on the feminist movement, and on the efforts to restrict abortion and the availability of birth control? Will the perception of homosexuality in the context of sub-replacement fertility change opinions of that phenomenon? Or rather than consider such vexatious matters, will the West instead elect to go voluntarily, and quietly into the demographic dustbin of history?

6. This topic gets us into the fascinating demography of declining populations, about which almost nothing is currently known by the general public, or even most demographers, for that matter. This includes in particular *negative momentum*, and how long it takes and how difficult it is to arrest such a decline, once well established. It also includes the social policies, such as child subsidies, childcare and parental job leave, all of which (and more) will be proposed to encourage even replacement level childbearing. How will all this be financed? We would need to have families of three, and even four, to make up for families with no children or only one. How will we determine how much income needs to be transferred from the latter to the former to make such relatively large families financially possible?

7. Another fascinating topic: the celibacy of the Roman Catholic clergy versus the fertility of the Muslim Imams. The latter encourage their brightest and best to reproduce, even polygamously. The former are culturally neutered. Which is the winning strategy from the bio-political and natural selection/Darwinian points of view?

8. What will be the effects on Eastern Orthodoxy? In some ways that faith group is more in harm's way than the European variations of Christianity, due to physical proximity.

9. Samuel Huntington's books, *Clash of Civilizations*, and *Who We Are* need to be explored for relevant ideas. In the first, he said that the borders of Islam are "bloody," for which he took heavy criticism. But note that in this piece we're positing a gradual peaceful takeover where the natives just wake up some day and realize they've lost it, not a sudden and bloody upheaval.

10. Jean Raspail's novel, *The Camp of the Saints*, is essential background reading for those seeking to understand the potential for migration coming from the Third World. India, the example in Raspail's novel, has just passed the one billion population mark, and is increasing its numbers by about 50,000 a day. It is already sending its excess people abroad by the plane load. The BBC film of 1990 called *The March* is also sobering visual background material for understanding the potential for the invasion of Europe from Africa – and Europe's psychological inability to respond to the challenge.

11. On the same tack of "a picture being worth a thousand words," there are some astounding visual records of flotillas of Albanian Muslims trying to get into Bari, in Southern Italy in 1991. More recently, about 1000 Kurds came ashore on the Sun Coast of France. There have been stories in *The Atlantic* and other magazines of smugglers running people into Spain from North Africa via speedboat. The beaching of the *Golden Venture* on Long Island in the mid-1990s brought such assaults home to Americans.

The take-home message: Countries whose citizens elect low fertility must control their borders or they are very likely to be overrun demographically by their supra-replacement-fertility neighbors. ■

[*Comments are welcome. Please send them to info@TheSocialContract.com, putting "Vatican Capitulates" in the subject line of the e-mail.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Immigration without Assimilation

A formula for dispossession

Book Review by John Attarian

Over a million immigrants, virtually all non-white, enter America every year, and well over 30 million have arrived since 1970. Americans are taking this unprecedented flood calmly. Apparently they believe that these newcomers will assimilate – conform to American culture, folkways, and mores – just as their own immigrant ancestors did in the 1840s, 1890s, and 1910s, and that America will digest them without ill effects.

Not so, retorts paleo-conservative columnist Samuel Francis, a penetrating observer of politics and culture. In this collection of columns written in 1998-2001, Dr. Francis argues persuasively that assimilation is not happening and that as a result, immigration is starting to radically transform America, with whites being dispossessed of economic, social and political power, and of their culture, too.

America Extinguished: Mass Immigration and the Disintegration of American Culture
by Samuel T. Francis
Monterey, Virginia: Americans for Immigration Control, Inc.
215 pages, $6.95

Studies, including a Center for Immigration Research and Education study in 1982 and a Census Bureau report in 1992, have pointed out that if current trends in non-white immigration and fertility continued, American whites would be a minority by about 2050. They have elicited little notice, much less alarm. Most Americans believe that race does not matter and that cultural differences will vanish as the newcomers become like us.

Mainstream conservatives and libertarians have a deep faith that insists that immigrants will assimilate. These people – Linda Chavez, Jack Kemp, Bill Bennett, Ben Wattenberg, and so on – typically argue that American identity is not grounded in race, ethnicity, national origin, culture, or religion, but rather in a set of "propositions," such as equality, entrepreneurship, "family values," and so on. This reductive approach, Francis rightly observes, does not try to prove that "real assimilation, as understood by sociologists and anthropologists, was taking place," but seeks to water down "the meaning of the concept of assimilation itself – and of America as a distinct, historically articulated culture as well."

But if the "right" dilutes assimilation, liberals simply disdain it. They laud immigration as providing "diversity," the real purpose of which, Francis bravely and rightly observes, is "to destroy whiteness." Liberals forsake the image of the melting pot for the "salad bowl," in which different groups will preserve their unique identities and perspectives. But salads are not famous for cohesion.

Dr. Francis excels at spelling out what assimilation is and why it matters. Many immigrants, he acknowledges, do assimilate and many others do so partially. But he makes the crucial point that assimilation itself admits of degrees. Minimal assimilation entails merely things like wearing blue jeans and eating fast food. Deeper assimilation involves adopting not only conventional American dress, speech, and the like, but also "cultural attitudes

John Attarian, Ph.D., *with a doctorate in economics from the University of Michigan, is a freelance writer living in Ann Arbor. A frequent contributor to* The Social Contract, *he is the author of* Economism and the National Prospect *(Transaction) and* Social Security: False Consciousness and Crisis *(Harpercollins).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toward a multiplicity of kinds of behavior and the cultural norms that govern them."

Bad as the new "American" practices of genital mutilation and witchcraft are, Dr. Francis rightly deems them less important that "the more fundamental and less tangible form of non-assimilation" regarding beliefs about the appropriate use of violence, the individual's relationship to the group, and so on. These beliefs are part of every person's basic outlook. Francis keenly observes that "precisely because most human beings simply don't know what their attitudes on such matters are and have never consciously thought them out, they are not easily discarded at the borders of whatever country a person leaves and enters." Therefore, they clash with the views of the host population. This explains why almost all multicultural or multiracial societies have had either authoritarian rule or instability. Achieving a consensus outlook in such societies is difficult. If neither authoritarian rule nor consensus exists, Balkanization follows: "physical fragmentation of a common political unit into its component ethnic, racial and regional parts."

Dr. Francis seconds George W. Bush, an immigration enthusiast, in seeing America as a melting pot, not a salad bowl, but points out that "the melting pot has been possible at all only because what was melted in it was never very different in the first place." The overwhelming majority of immigrants until recently had a macro-level resemblance to the people already here: white, mostly Christian, with European folkways, institutions, and morals. "Since they were largely homogeneous to begin with, it's not all that surprising they formed one nation that has retained that homogeneity until recently." Unfortunately, the homogeneity no longer exists. Most of our recent immigrants are radically different from America's host population, so assimilation is far more difficult.

Ominously, in many cases assimilation is not happening. "Nothing is more basic to the assimilation of immigrants in a foreign culture than learning its language," Dr. Francis observes. But many Hispanics and other immigrants are not learning English, a strong sign that "they haven't assimilated and don't intend to." Indeed, special foreign-language schools for immigrant children are proliferating. Another sign of non-assimilation is the collapse in the naturalization rate. In 1970, about 90 percent of foreigners who had lived in America for over two decades were naturalized citizens; as of 1999, only 30 percent. Moreover, many Hispanics have a militant race consciousness and identify with Mexico, not America.

Why is assimilation not happening? Dr. Francis argues that mass immigration is the problem. When too many immigrants arrive at once, their language and folkways reinforced by large numbers of similar people, "they don't need to assimilate. Instead, they form their own communities and enclaves, and the surrounding society has to assimilate to them."

"'Nothing is more basic to the assimilation of immigrants in a foreign culture than learning its language,' Dr. Francis observes. But many Hispanics and other immigrants are not learning English, a strong sign that 'they haven't assimilated and don't intend to.'"

Yes and no. America experienced mass immigration before, with immigrants clustered in ethnic communities – Hamtramck in Detroit, for example – yet assimilation took place. My grandparents fled Armenia before World War I and came to Detroit, where an Armenian immigrant community resided. Grandma enrolled my father, born here in 1913, in an Armenian school, which impeded his learning English; he would address classmates at his public school in Armenian. One of his public school teachers told Grandma what was happening and insisted she pull him out of the Armenian school, because he would have to become fluent in English if he was going to get anywhere in America. She did,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and he did. Assimilation happened in Grandma's day because America demanded it, and enforced it in institutions such as public schools, where most teachers were patriotic WASPs. Today's politically correct teachers, marinated in multiculturalism, would laud Grandma for retaining her Armenian identity and place little Eddie Attarian in bilingual education.

But if Francis misses this point, he cites the Christians' apologizing for the Crusades and Pope John Paul II's apology for past Catholic sins, to nail why America no longer demands assimilation: "Western man no longer believes in himself or the civilization his ancestors created, crusaded for and died for." Myopic self-interest is also a factor. Both major political parties treat our exploding, ill-assimilated Hispanic immigrant population not as a national problem, but as a voting bloc to be pandered to. California Republicans even deny funds to white candidates in favor of Hispanics. Both Al Gore and Bush have addressed Hispanic audiences in Spanish, presupposing that they had not assimilated.

Thanks to mass immigration, America's invertebrate failure either to stop it or enforce assimilation, and the cancer of political correctness, American whites are beginning to suffer dispossession. Immigration is literally running whites out of California. Since apportionment of seats in the House of Representatives is based on states' total populations, including non-citizens, states with high immigration are gaining seats at the expense of states with low immigration; citizens' representation suffers accordingly. The push for a California state holiday honoring Cesar Chavez, opposition to Columbus Day parades in Denver, and the de-Christianization of Christmas by nonwhite immigrants witness for "the displacement of European-American civilization and its heroes, holidays and symbols by another civilization." The seizure of white-owned farms in Zimbabwe, Francis warns, is a grim portent of what might await American whites if immigration and immigrant fertility reduce them to a minority.

Even though polls reveal solid majorities of Americans opposed to immigration, it continues, Francis maintains, because it enhances the wealth and power of the elites who dominate America. Business wants cheap immigrant labor, and hang the consequences for the larger community. For example, immigrants, with the carpet industry's blessing, poured into the Georgia towns of Dalton and Gainesville, causing whites to flee the schools. Churches and unions want immigrant members. Multiculturalists and welfare bureaucrats want to import a clientele.

The elites' self-serving conduct makes it brutally clear, Dr. Francis argues, that the American people cannot look to the elites to save America from being ruinously transformed by immigration. We must do it ourselves. The electoral victory of California's Proposition 187 shows that grassroots efforts can succeed. There is still some time left, he believes, but not much. "The day is soon coming – Mexican revanchists remind us of it all the time – when the immigrants will simply be too many for any sitting politician to call for immigration controls without inviting political suicide."

Sam Francis has an enviable knack for "reading" current events to divine what they reveal about both the present and the future, the penetration to see what he looks at, and the guts to report what he sees. The result is deep insight conveyed in vigorous, readable prose. Francis puts me in mind of the journalist Jules Machefer in Jean Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints*.

America Extinguished is one of the best warnings about the immigration menace I have read, a powerful work of prophecy. Fortunately, it's priced to reach a mass audience. Buy it, read it, buy more copies, and pass them on.

Time is short. ■

A New Immigration-Related Website in Britain

MigrationWatchUK is a newly established, independent, think tank which has no links to any political party.

It is chaired by Sir Andrew Green, former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

Professor David Coleman, Department of Demography, Oxford University, is an honorary consultant.

An advisory council is being formed.

One can begin a visit by finding the site:

www.migrationwatchuk.com/whoweare.asp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Water and Population

Book Review by Jerry Keeney

Environmentalist and author Marc Reisner's book *Cadillac Desert*, originally published in 1986 spurred nationwide awareness of water conservation issues. His book is on the Modern Library list of the 100 most important non-fiction books of the twentieth century.

Cadillac Desert is a social history of the politics of water in the United States and the environmental destruction wreaked by dams. It is a brilliant exposition of how water was delivered to the deserts of the West through political chicanery, especially pork belly legislation and wars between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corp of Engineers. The warnings of John Wesley Powell and the disappearance of the Hohokam civilization were all ignored by those engaged in rampant irrigation and dam building. Reisner's story of delivery of water to Los Angeles through the sheer force of William Mulholland, the chief of the Los Angeles Water Department, is a fascinating piece of history. Bribery, subterfuge and spies are all part of the account: not only in the delivery of water to southern California from the Colorado River over 600 miles away, but the ensuing explosion of population it brought to that area.

Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water *(Revised Edition)*
by Marc Reisner
New York: Penguin Books
582 pages, $11.90

In 1993 a revised edition was published including an afterword by Reisner. He was reassured to find that the era of massive dam building was at an end and foresaw the future struggle to be between the urban water and agricultural lobbyists.

> *Forty years ago, only a handful of heretics, howling at the wilderness challenged the notion that the west needed hundreds of new dams. Today they are almost vindicated. There is more talk of deconstruction than of construc-tion: of minor dams demolished, of big dams made environmentally sound, of marginal acreage retired and water returned to its source of flows bypassing turbines to flush salmon and steelhead to sea.*
>
> *...The region's population is growing and, in places, exploding. (California has added seven million people since Melones Dam.) More people need more water and power and food. Asia sends its surplus population to California and the Northwest; the Mexican border is porous as a sieve.*

Reisner appears to be connecting water issues with those of population. It is too bad he did not articulate the dangers of over population as he so skillfully delineated the waste of water through highly subsidized agricultural irrigation.

Reisner was interviewed by the National Resources Defense Council in 1997, three years before his death, and was asked,"What was the most worrisome environmental problem?" He replied,

> *Overpopulation. There isn't any other problem that approaches it in seriousness. We have far too many people already. We can't possibly sustain the number of people we have on the planet today without completely gobbling up the whole resource base on which all of us depend. My wife and I have just replaced ourselves and we did it pretty late in life, so we have got a leg up there. But the idea of India surpassing a population of one billion is frightening. And the idea of the United States becoming a country of a half a billion people – that's foreseeable given rising birth rates and heavy immigrant pressure – is even worse: Americans use resources at a much greater rate than elsewhere in the world.*

If only he could have lived to produce a classic like *Cadillac Desert* on the population crisis. ■

***Jerry Keeney** is a retired teacher who volunteers to head the Harbor Springs (Michigan) Chapter of North Country Trails and who serves as a Steward with the Michigan Nature Association.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

Here are some additional sites that readers may find of interest. Listing them here does not imply endorsement of the material on any specific site.

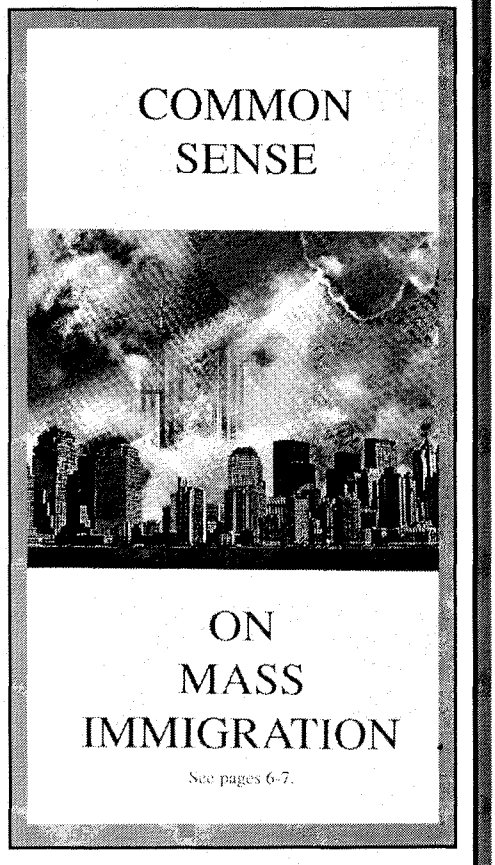
- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR): www.fairus.org.
- Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America at www.diversityalliance.org.
- Immigration by the Numbers: www.numbersusa.com.
- ProEnglish: www.proenglish.org.
- Political cartoons related to legal and illegal immigration: www.immivasion.us.
- Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS): www.capsweb.org
- A new voice for population/environment issues: www.sprawlcity.org.
- Center for Immigration Studies: www.cis.org.
- *Limits to Growth* edited by Brenda Walker: www.LimitsToGrowth.org.
- Friends of Immigration Law Enforcement: www.fileus.com.
- Smugglers and others wanted by public safety agencies are pictured at www.narctip.com and at www.ice.gov/graphics/enforce/mostwanted.pdf.
- www.ImmigrationsHumanCost.org.
- Rob Sanchez keeps track of H1-B visa developments at www.ZaZona.com.
- Alternatives to Growth Oregon at: www.agoregon.org.
- National parks at our southern border are being overrun by an overwhelming number of illegal aliens: www.desertinvasion.us.
- Comments from Peter Brimelow, Joseph Fallon, and others: www.vdare.com.
- Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (CAIR) and links to other state-based organizations: www.cairco.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: www.carryingcapacity.org.
- Negative Population Growth: www.npg.org.
- California Coalition for Immigration Reform: www.ccir.net.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News:* www.migration.ucdavis.edu.
- Professor Norman Matloff: www.heather.cs.ucdavis.edu /pub/Immigration/Index.html.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration: www.enteract.com/~mcri97.
- Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization: www.susps.org.
- *People and Place* is published in Australia by the Centre for Population and Urban Research: www.elecpress.monash.edu.au/pnp.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee: www.canadafirst.net.
- New immigration think tank in Britain: www.migrationwatchuk.com.
- Terminology is important: www.illegalaliens.us.
- Voices of Citizens Together: www.americanpatrol.com.
- Council of Conservative Citizens: www.cofcc.org.
- Juan Mann hosts a website at www.DeportAliens.com.
- The Biocentric Institute: www.iapm.org/biocenter.html.
- Stalking the Wild Taboo: www.lrainc.com/swtaboo/.
- ProjectUSA: www.projectusa.org.
- The European Forum for Migration Studies: www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/home.html.
- Floridians for a Sustainable Population: www.flsuspop.org.
- Population and Sustainability: www.ecofuture.org/populat.html.
- American Renaissance: www.amren.com.
- www.occidentalquarterly.com.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law): http://www.fedpub.com/fedpub/immigrat.htm.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- Center for Immigration Studies (CIS): center@cis.org.
- Negative Population Growth: npg@npg.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: ccn@igc.apc.org.
- Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS): caps@capsweb.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Common Sense on Mass Immigration is a collection of mini-essays by such scholars and activists as Richard Lamm, Diana Hull, Peter Brimelow and Roy Beck, printed in booklet form. With such chapters as "Taxes: Social Security Costs," "Economy and Jobs," "National Security," this booklet is intended to help inject immigration policy into the issue debates of 2004. Its purpose is public education. It neither endorses nor opposes any candidate for public office.



Since it is public officials who are responsible for immigration policy, we suggest you provide them with a copy of this educational booklet. Give copies to your friends, relatives, and associates. They are very inexpensive and can be ordered in quantity.

Published by The Social Contract Press
445 E. Mitchell St, Petoskey, MI 49770-2623
www.TheSocialContract.com
John H. Tanton, M.D., Editor
ISBN: 1-881780-26-0
Copyright 2004

Single copy – $1.00

Package of 5 – $4.00 **Package of 50 – $25.00**
Package of 25 – $15.00 **Package of 100 – $40.00**

Call Toll Free: 1-800-352-4843

The booklet and its contents can be seen at:
www.CommonSenseOnMassImmigration.us

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED